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Essentially a "how to do" pamphlet, the material is organized with the needs of the public schools in mind. It is designed to help school administrators, teachers, parents, and community leaders choose wise policies when their school system is under the legal obligation to integrate.

Recognizing that the problem of segregated schools is not restricted to only one portion of the United States, the experiences of communities of school systems in parts of the country have been reviewed. The material is presented as follows: A Look at the American Scene; Barriers to Change; Starting at Home; The Balance Sheet in School Desegregation; What Happens at School; The School Board Sets Policy; Administrative Planning with and for Teachers; The Administrator Plans with the Community; and Planning with and for Children. Included is a partial listing of national organizations offering services.

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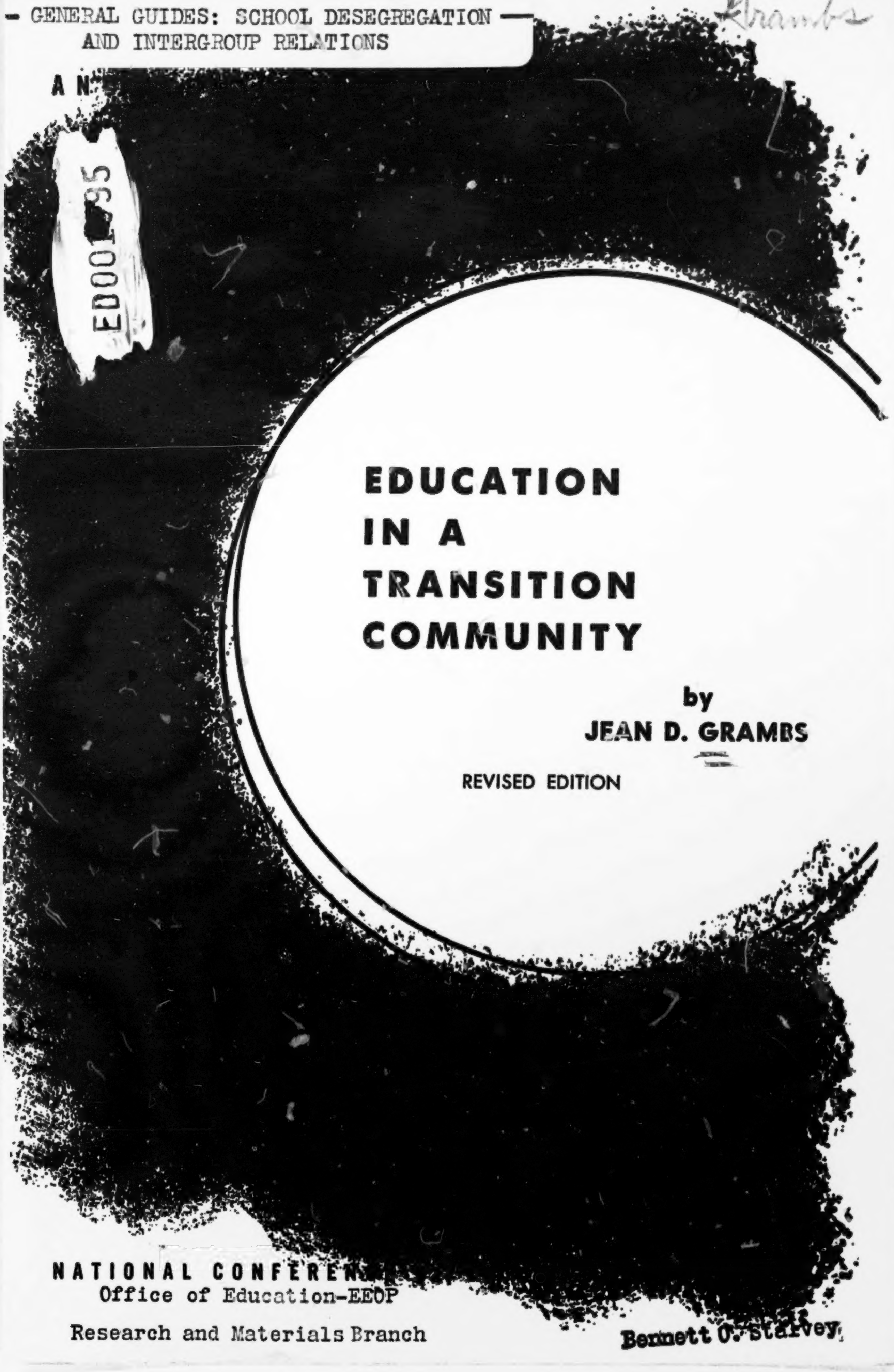

EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY

by
JEAN D. GRAMBS

REVISED EDITION

NATIONAL CONFEREN
Office of Education-EEOP

Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Starvey

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EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY

by
JEAN D. GRAMBS

Revised Edition
July 1958

Prepared Under the Direction

of

WILLIAM E. VICKERY

Director
Commission on Educational Organizations
National Conference of Christians and Jews

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FOREWORD

With emotions ranging from elation to trepidation, American communities now undertake with new urgency the task at which they have been working so long—the task of eliminating racial and ethnic barriers to an education that fits the American way of life. The elimination of statutory segregation in public education not only provides new opportunities for achieving the American ideal but also confronts the citizens of communities with grave problems.

Transition from one style of operation to another style of operation is seldom a pleasant experience. Yet, American citizens have never let the unpleasantness of change deter them long from working out new solutions to old problems. All they need, usually, are some guidelines.

Guidelines for the transition now in prospect for many school systems are easy to find, inescapably easy. Those guidelines are simple. Adherence to the principle that the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships. These ideals are so right that adherence to them guarantees eventual success.

Yet, school officials and concerned citizens would like to have more help in meeting the very practical and immediate issues with which they are faced. Fortunately, the trail of desegregation has been trod before. False starts and needless detours were made; barriers which could have been skirted have stopped noble efforts. On the other hand, numerous communities have been eminently successful in seizing upon the opportunities offered by a local decision to eliminate racial or ethnic segregation in schools.

We should be very grateful to Dr. Grambs and to the Commission on Educational Organizations of the National

Conference of Christians and Jews for distilling much of the previous experience with human relationships in transition communities, and making available to us some of the lessons that can be drawn from that experience.

Perhaps the content of this bulletin is more symbolic than we realize. In dealing with general policies, administrative considerations, and matters of organization, the author is necessarily cautious, and quite cognizant that our experience is limited. But, when she deals with children and teachers working together, the content fairly glows with assurance and certainty that wonderful things then happen. Dr. Grambs may have produced for us the real answer to all of our fears, trepidations, and hesitations—just get good teachers together with children in a friendly, hopeful atmosphere and stop worrying.

LAURENCE D. HASKEW
Dean, School of Education
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PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAMPHLET

The public schools of the United States have undergone many changes and responded to many challenges. During the last decade public-school systems across the country have had to expand to an unprecedented and unexpected degree in order to provide adequate education for the bumper crop of babies born during the war years.

Following World War II the schools were the object of more public scrutiny and criticism than had occurred in decades. The launching of the Russian satellite in the fall of 1957 provoked a new barrage of criticism and stepped up the demands for change, some kind of change, almost any kind of change! School people in many places are beginning to wonder if times of crisis will ever pass.

Another event has likewise occurred which directly or indirectly affects the schooling of all children in every state. This event was the decision of May 17, 1954, of the Supreme Court, declaring school segregation to be unconstitutional.

The first edition of this pamphlet was written when the decision had not yet been announced, and published a few months after the decision had been enunciated. We did not know very much about the future. We could only utilize experience of school systems where desegregation had already taken place, and such systems were not in the states of the traditional "Deep South." Nearly four years have passed. What have we learned? What are the next steps in areas where school desegregation or integration is still to occur? What preparations can be made toward the achievement of an orderly transition?

This revision of the original pamphlet will be directed at the above questions. In addition, we want to repeat the statement in the first edition regarding the point of view of the pamphlet.

First, the material included is organized with the needs of the public schools primarily in mind. Second, this pamphlet is designed to help school administrators, teachers, parents and community leaders to choose wise policies—on the basis of the experience of others—when a school system is under the legal obligation to integrate all students and teachers into a single school system. Third, the problem of segregated schools is not restricted to only one portion of the United States. Segregation by law or tradition affects many regions and localities. In some places the segregation occurs by race; in others ethnic groups are relegated to a few schools or classrooms; in still others socio-economic groups are practically segregated from each other through residential patterns. Thus this pamphlet is directed to school administrators and others concerned with public education in all regions and areas of the United States.

In these few pages we cannot discuss the complexity of the problems as they occur in so many localities. Inevitably, broad generalizations will have to be made. Some aspects of the problem of integration are more crucial than others and will therefore command more of our attention and, thus, may be of more concern in some localities than in others. The bibliography, it is hoped, will provide additional specific help.

The events of the past four years—as any headline reader can tell you—have shifted our concern somewhat. We know that school systems in some of our largest cities have tremendous problems in the integration of many diverse population groups. But the crucial problems are not in such school systems. The problem that remains to be solved is that of the still segregated public school systems of eight states of the Deep South, and in portions of the border Southern states. Federal legislation for schools, in whatever form, is tied up with the problem of desegregation, since agreement is difficult if not impossible to reach on the question of whether new Federal funds shall be paid to schools which operate in violation of the Supreme Court's decision. Thus schools throughout the country are affected by the desegregation problem. But a solution has to be reached in each locality; each state and area must move at its own pace in its own way.

It will not be an easy task to make the transition, now, in those states and localities where segregation still occurs. The lines of resistance have stiffened. The tactics of resistance have shifted, changed, and become increasingly more difficult to deal with on a rational level and in an orderly fashion.

In this pamphlet we cannot hope to do more than indicate a few things that may help us understand better the problems of moving from a segregated to a desegregated school system. We can seek some guide lines in the experience of others, and can suggest ways of working that may ease the transition period.

Desegregation or Integration?

Desegregation and integration, we have learned, are two rather different situations. We shall use the term "desegregation" primarily to refer to the actual change from segregation to a non-segregated school situation. The term integration will be used to refer to something that is achieved only after desegregation takes place. Integration of many kinds of pupils in one school system occurs when we no longer see individuals as representatives of racial, ethnic or religious groups, but see each person as an individual, with due regard to his own particular personal history. Thus many desegregated school systems may have many years of thinking and working and re-education to accomplish before school personnel, students, and community accept a truly integrated school situation. Physical desegregation can and has occurred. But the change in attitude that must take place for integration is something that may take many more years to achieve.

The merits or demerits of any given approach to the decision regarding desegregation are not being debated here. The assumption being made is that in a given community a decision to desegregate has been reached; therefore, the school system will be seeking the most appropriate and democratically sound method of implementing this decision.

I A LOOK AT THE AMERICAN SCENE

First, let us make clear that this pamphlet is primarily a how-to-do-it pamphlet. It is designed to give guidance and suggest ways of working to public-school educators. It borrows from the experience of communities and school systems in many parts of the country.

Second, we are concerned here with several kinds of minority-group integration in the public schools:

1. Integrating Negro students from a formerly segregated school system.
2. Integrating Negro students in a community where there have previously been few, if any, in the community.
3. Achieving integration of minority groups where there is a great deal of residential segregation.
4. Integrating Spanish-speaking children from either segregated or isolated schools.
5. Integrating those of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, American-Indian background, or any other ethnic minority which has heretofore been in nearly segregated or isolated schools.
6. Integrating newcomers to older communities.

The problems of the above-named groups are similar in some respects and dissimilar in others. We shall attempt to outline some ways of working in the several different kinds of situations suggested.

And, third, the answers that any educator will arrive at must be indigenous to his own community. There is *no one way* to solve the complex problems of human relations involved in the kind of integration we are discussing. There are many solutions. Some fit one community better than another. Only those who know well their own community can accurately and effectively decide what will work best.

Population Mobility

Let us look for a moment at the national scene. Probably the one item that is most apparent and most relevant to our problem here is the extraordinary and increasing mobility of the American people. During and following World War II people moved. More people moved than had ever moved before. They moved to find jobs. They moved because the armed services moved them. They moved because it was easy to move—more cars, better roads, more air routes, better train service. Many moved in order to provide for their children advantages that had been unobtainable or denied to them in their home communities. One such advantage that people sought was better education.

Better Living Standards

Another very significant event has been the universal lifting of the economic standards of American families. Poverty is still very real to many thousands. Recent prosperous years, however, have meant that more people than ever have been able to afford adequate food, housing, clothing, health, and the vision of even better things for their children. Wages have been high, jobs have been available to all. With more money, people can look beyond the deadly grind of day-to-day survival. Such individuals can look around, plan for the future, and acquire some of the attributes of security.

How have these two trends affected the problem of minority groups in our society? There are many answers but one is obvious: the movement of population has educated great masses of the American people to the fact that things do not have to be the way they have always been.

Regional differences were, for the first time, seen and experienced by thousands of servicemen and their families, and thousands of industrial workers and their families. Patterns of segregation or lack of segregation, the ease or difficulty of social mobility provided a new view of different ways of living.

One must not underestimate the vast new look that millions of Americans acquired through being moved around the United States and around the world during the upheaval of the war years. In particular, individual members of minority groups returning to their home towns would not easily be satisfied with ways of doing things that militated against their own group.

With increased economic gains, members of minority groups could now afford ways of living that before had been so remote as to be beyond the reach even of a dream. However, realizing that the grip of tradition still restricted their opportunity, members of minority groups have become increasingly less satisfied with such traditions.

Democratic Expectations

Equally important is the growing recognition that many minority-group individuals have not been given just and equal treatment. Many of the complaints regarding minority-group behavior have been recognized as inherent in the kinds of restricted social and economic lives members of minority groups are forced to lead. Society has paid a high price for such restriction in the loss of talent, the demoralization of generations of individuals, and the excessive drain on public funds of many kinds. Furthermore, world opinion has been most critical of American claims to democratic leadership when such apparent contradictions are permitted to flourish in our own land.

The Moral Imperative

As basic as our concern with democratic rights and responsibilities is our concern over the moral quality of our decisions. Viewed in this light, many individuals have realized that segregation, whether by law or by custom, whether resulting from economic pressures or self-imposed, is morally indefensible. The many statements by religious leaders and religious bodies representing every group and denomination reflect this recognition of the moral imperative that makes people of good will work towards the elimination of the form and the need for segregation.

The convergence of these trends and social forces has resulted in a state of mind where more and more communities face the legal and moral obligation of opening up all educational doors to everyone equally. That this

process is one that will strengthen democracy in a very basic fashion is the conviction of many socially-aware people. It is also true that teachers, administrators and community leaders have a task that is real and challenging.

II BARRIERS TO CHANGE

Upon local school and community leadership will devolve the specific policy decisions to implement integration. Understanding some of the barriers to change, some of the forces that may make it hard to move people, will, in the long run, help to smooth the process of change. We are accustomed to our traditional ways of doing things. We do not know what new ways may entail. We listen to many stories that prophesy evil days and grim incidents if traditional patterns are upset. Many view these changes with deep concern and fear, while many welcome the change as an opportunity to practice the basic meanings of democracy.

Many communities have already demonstrated that a change from a totally or partially-segregated school system to an integrated one can occur with ease and a minimum of community disturbance. Understanding local feelings that may stand as a barrier to change will aid the local school and community leadership in making wise policy decisions.

Traditional Prejudices

Traditional prejudices based on ignorance and rumor are the inheritance of many individuals. Prejudice is not a rational matter. The facts about other peoples do not change many minds. In every community one can expect to find many individuals who strongly and articulately reject others who are different from themselves. Prejudice is not limited just to the members of the dominant group, either. Prejudice is an almost universal disease. Some people have more violent cases than others.

Minority Status

Being a member of some minority groups that are accorded a low social status is likely to be a psychologically damaging experience. It is not easy to face a world that says: Because of your color, your religion, the language you speak, your foreign-sounding name, you are not as good as others; you cannot have jobs that others can have; you cannot attend the schools open to others.

Children, we know, are deeply affected by the necessity of learning that because they are different they lack the freedom and opportunity of other children of the same age and capabilities. Studies of children of minority-group membership show an early recognition of the difference that sets them apart. With this recognition often goes a feeling of not being worthy, of deprecating their own talents.[1]

People who dislike themselves find it difficult to be open and friendly to others. Out of this kind of minority-group experience may come deep feelings of social hostility, insecurity, and sensitivity. Prejudice is not rational and neither is the reaction to prejudice. Those who are the objects of prejudice frequently may develop ways of behaving that seem irrational to those who have not experienced prejudice and who do not feel prejudiced toward others. The confusion is even worse because the education in democratic concepts and ways of acting provided all our citizens is so much in contrast with the living experience of many members of minority groups.[2]

The Role of The School

A third problem in making the transition to an integrated school system lies in the very nature of the public educational institution itself.

The public school has a long and honored history in the building of American democracy. Furthermore, it is an institution that has provided a means to achieve a better life for many millions. Parents who could neither read nor write may see their youngsters working for degrees in colleges or universities. Education opens opportunities of an unlimited variety but the competition for the best places is, as one would expect, severe. We may wish unconsciously to restrict opportunity to a chosen group in order to assure the more likely entry of our own young people into the select positions. It is thus to be expected that the genuine equalizing of opportunity may appear to some as a threat not only to their own status but to the possible future status of their children.

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[1] Trager, Helen E. and Marian R. Yarrow, *They Learn What They Live*, New York, Harper and Bros., 1952; Goodman, Mary E., *Race Awareness in Young Children*, Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Press, 1952.

[2] Allport, Gordon, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge, Addison-Wesley, 1954, Chap. 9, "Traits Due to Victimization," pp 142-162.

Furthermore, the school is a great socializing institution. Here children learn to get along in the group. They make friends—and enemies. As the children grow older, the school involves them in more and more social activities—parties, dances, picnics, carnivals, athletic events. It is this that some parents and observers fear as they view the intermingling in the schools of children of various races, creeds, and origins.

What does this fear really mean? Is it a rationalization, or grounded in fact?

There May Be Real Trouble

A fourth barrier to desegregation has recently become of major significance. In 1954 when the first Supreme Court decision was announced, pessimists predicted immediate trouble; optimists said that nothing much would really occur. The reports of trouble actually are far outweighed by the reports of peaceful desegregation. But events in more recent years have revealed a tightening of resistance to desegregation of any kind in a few states of the Deep South.

The papers daily carry more reports of threatened violence, of bombs thrown at schools, of crosses burned on lawns, of persons attacked or fired upon. The fact that the great power of the American President had to be utilized, and that Federal troops were needed, when 10 Negro children attended a white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, indicates a changing temper in some areas and among some people. A few states have passed legislation which would close down all public schools if the schools must be desegregated under court order.

Persons of good will are troubled and perturbed by these events. Who would deliberately plunge his community into turmoil, expose individuals to danger, and threaten the very structure of public education? Where are the people ready to work toward orderly change in compliance with law and conscience?

The Task Is Large

Times and needs change and, with changing times and needs, institutions designed to serve these needs will be required to change, whether through changed laws or through pressure of public opinion or both. The barriers briefly outlined above need not prohibit orderly, calm and smooth transitions. Informed, sensitive and intelligent leadership dedicated to democratic processes in solving problems can surmount such barriers.

III STARTING AT HOME

Every region and every community in that region has its own pattern of education. Each community and region has its own history of population movement. Some communities have a tradition of welcoming the stranger; others have accepted families only after the third generation has successfully weathered social scrutiny. Some communities have a fine and honored sense of pride in community accomplishment and a lively interest in all aspects of community growth and welfare. Other communities are communities in name only; few people feel at home in them, fewer yet are devoted to the solution of community problems. Still other communities are torn by strife and factional interests.

Usually the schools reflect community feeling. A demoralized community can usually count on having a demoralized school system where teachers resent children, children refuse to learn, and parents vote against school bonds and raises in teachers' salaries. The reverse is true in a community which is resolutely facing and solving its own problems with faith in the democratic process and a firm belief in the future.

Community Study

To face the problem of integrating new groups into the schools, the educational leadership will find it extremely helpful to do a kind of community self-audit. The more the local school people know about their own town, the better will they be able to meet new problems and avert confusion and crisis. Below are some of the questions to which a school faculty could address itself as a beginning.

Assessing the Neighborhood Pattern

What is the neighborhood pattern of this community? Schools serve neighborhoods at the elementary level and then, as children go on to high school, larger areas of the community are encompassed. Very often the smaller unit, the elementary school, will enroll children of one population group only. Of course, in a segregated system this would happen automatically. But residential patterns in many larger towns and cities are such that most of the Spanish-speaking children, for instance, will go to only a few schools. Then, in junior or senior high school, they may suddenly find themselves mixed with others. Non-Spanish-speaking youngsters have also been insulated from contact and have probably developed many distorted notions of what Spanish-speaking children are like.

In analyzing the neighborhood pattern by population groups, it would be useful to determine the socio-economic level of these neighborhoods as well. Does one minority group come mainly from the industrial slum area? Does another come from the country-club part of town? Are the Polish-American youngsters isolated in the working-class area of the school district? Social distinctions are as important as ethnic or racial distinctions. Behavior differs according to socio-economic level, and so do motivations and expectations.

One does not find the answers to these questions by reading census tracts only. The Federal census of population is invaluable. A copy of the local census data for one's own community should be readily available to all school people.[3] But the best understanding of the community comes from observing and talking with the people themselves.

Population Change

How has the community changed over the last two decades? The appearance of new population groups is a phenomenon that has startled many communities since the 1940's. Many towns that had no Negro population whatsoever now have many thousands living within the school district. The influx of Puerto Ricans to New York is one dramatic example of population shifts in recent years. Chicago reports a tremendous migration of Southern Negroes and Southern whites. Major cities throughout the country show similar migrations.

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[3] Consult the Public Library or communicate with U. S. Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C.

Teachers move around a good deal in their professional life. In this process they may become isolated from the communities they teach in. To understand the problems of integration, teachers will want to learn about their community as it is today and also as it used to be. Teachers and administrators will find older residents who have lived through community change to be informants in an anthropological sense—not necessarily reporting objective fact but reporting feelings and attitudes.

One would particularly look for any history of tension and trouble. The memories of community residents as well as school faculties are very long. A newcomer is often startled by the bitterness that remains over an incident that might have occurred many years before. What scars, if any, does the community bear in its intergroup history? Sometimes feelings have flared high over non-school problems yet this very history of tension will mean that a school program may be handicapped by community attitudes.

The many incidents of positive solutions to intergroup relations should also be explored. The accomplishments of such groups as The National Conference of Christians and Jews in bringing together people of all faiths and all races can be very useful to local school personnel. Knowing the past history of the community in terms of group relations will indicate to the school personnel what leadership was involved in past events, what organized community groups participated, and therefore what special educational effort must be expended to bring these individuals and groups into support of school policy.

Members of the minority group must be sought out for information. Has life been pleasant in this community? How do many feel about the way they have been treated? What are the current sources of irritation, if any? What have they tried to achieve in this community? What would they want to help see realized in the future? All the different population groups in the community have a stake in the public-school system. Their feelings, history, and goals are equally important.

The School Story

How have the schools fared in this community? A look at the history of the local school system will provide some essential insights into how current and future problems may be solved. For instance, how have funds been allocated? Have the schools, if segregated, been given really equal facilities? Have educational opportunities been equal in all neighborhoods? How do teachers feel about teaching in certain parts of the district? This might be the time to recall retired teachers and ask them to discuss with the faculty some of the episodes, both good and bad, that occurred in the building of the school system.

How are decisions made and transmitted throughout the school system? The roles of the school board and of the superintendent are important to ascertain. If there is a local citizens' commission for the public schools, the role that this group has taken in school problems must be determined. What representation have minority-group members had in school faculties, on the school board, in the administration? Have there been any ugly conflicts between young people of different racial, religious, or ethnic backgrounds? How did the procedures followed at such a time work? Have precedents been established which may affect current policy decisions in the intergroup field?

Other Sources for Data about the Community

School leaders would want to call on local welfare and service clubs and governmental personnel where it is felt that they might have information or suggestions. Very often a local League of Women Voters group will have conducted a community study and uncovered some material that would help to answer questions similar to those posed above. The Red Cross chapter, likewise, may have significant material on file. The Family Service Agency, where there is one, usually has a good informal understanding of the areas of community problems as they affect individuals in this locality. The American Legion leadership may be familiar with the kinds of veterans' problems that occur and are symptomatic of general community adjustment. The various religious, charitable and relief organizations, the local public-employment bureau, the welfare fund, directors of the unions represented in local industry, church-aid groups, the Chamber of Commerce, men's and women's service clubs—these are all sources of information about how people are getting along in this town, and what is being done to help them.

How Have the Children Fared?

It is apparent, of course, that the educators will be seeking this kind of community orientation in order better to understand the young people themselves. In the files of most school systems there are many reports that tell the story of the local educational product. How many of those who enter elementary school and high school graduate? Where do high-school graduates go? What kinds of job opportunities are open to young people?

Test records will show the achievement of age and class groups. Are there conspicuous disparities between the achievements of various groups in the schools? What differences in school facilities and programs have existed that might account in part for differences in achievement? Are there important rural-urban differences in achievement, background, and length of stay in school? Objective facts about the school population will be of inestimable value in helping teachers and administrators plan for the future.

The experience of the other youth-serving agencies in the community will also be of great help. Of special significance is the determination of recreational facilities in the area. Are these equally available to all young people, or are there restrictions as to what groups can use them? Are some neighborhoods better served by public recreational programs than others? What kinds of young people have no adequate recreational facilities? How are youth groups organized in the community? Who belongs?

A System-Wide Concern

Whenever a basic school-policy change is to occur, all the teachers and administrators have a stake in it. In many school districts the high school may already be integrated.

The problem will then be to eliminate segregation patterns in the elementary schools. The kind of study of the community that is suggested above should be undertaken by teachers from all levels of the school system, working together to gather the facts. A basic change in policy such as integration entails will be successful to the extent that the total school personnel understands what is going on, why it is going on, and has a part in helping make specific plans. Part of the planning depends on making the facts known to all. Planning succeeds when those who plan together know each other and understand each other's points of view. One of the best ways to obtain the needed facts about the community is through committee study of the community where parents, teachers and community representatives work together to get the facts.

IV GROUPS AND GROUP DIFFERENCES

In the previous section we discussed the importance of seeing the school in its community setting. This provides some of the sociological data to help guide policy and planning.

Now let us turn to the people. Psychological understanding is also essential in planning policies that affect the daily life and education of individuals.

The United States is one of the most heterogeneous of nations. We have attracted peoples from every land in the world. In the spirit of this inheritance, the schools usually enroll all children of all residents, equally. In some parts of the United States, however, schools have been segregated by race. Such segregation has affected all the generations of white and Negro children in these areas for the whole history of our nation. In some sections of the Southwest, young people with a Spanish-language background have also been segregated, sometimes only in certain classrooms of a school, sometimes in whole schools. The gulf between "blue-shirt" workers and "white-collar" workers is one that is very wide in many communities. In rural areas, farm migrants and farm owners typically live in different and widely separated worlds.

We have two divergent traditions: one that encourages the development of common mores and a common citizenship in building the American character, the other that emphasizes the differences between peoples of different origin. In many cases we have learned to value and appreciate the differences among the many groups that make up the American scene. However, some differences have not been valued; they have, in fact, been used to deny individuals access to jobs, to schools, to many of the ordinary amenities of community living. It is this invidious use of differences that becomes the concern of the school when embarking upon integration.

In order to bring together those who have been kept apart from each other over the years, it is important to understand how it feels to be part of a different — a minority — group.

The Group Is Important

The concept of group belonging has recently become the focus of sociological study. It has appeared that man, the social animal, needs to feel a part of a group whether it is his clan, tribe, family, nation, neighborhood or lodge. In as large and heterogeneous a community as America, the smaller group identifications have been very important. To the new immigrant, his only security often lay in finding others of his own nationality and living as close to them as possible. But even while retaining some of the ways of speaking and eating that were traditional in his own nation, the immigrant sent his children to the American public schools, where American food was served and American manners and attitudes were inculcated.[4]

The newness of the American scene, the problems of adjusting to this fast-paced environment, made the ties with friend and family even more essential as the major security in a confusing and often terrifying new world. The feeling of isolation in the midst of multitudes has affected most urban dwellers, and more and more of our people are now in urban areas. The values of group belonging are intensified in a situation where one is a newcomer or where the individual seems lost in the great mass of humanity, as in the metropolis.

The Need for Stability

Various kinds and degrees of unrest and insecurity, resulting from wars, depressions, droughts, floods, new inventions and the like, leave individuals feeling unsettled and uncertain. This again serves to strengthen the values of in-group solidarity. At the same time, insecurity and uncertainty maximize the suspicion with which one views those who differ and those who stand for changed ways of doing things. In times when so much new is happening or about to happen, the familiar, the known, are prized most highly.

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[4] Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted*, New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1951, pp. 243-256.

The social scene in which we have grown up has thus made it increasingly more important for the individual to associate with others, to find a place where he belongs. Security comes also from a sense of self-worth and self-respect. These many diverse drives have made the differences among people more obvious rather than less so. Out of this situation has arisen in America the need for deliberately working to help individuals find security within their own group, but not at the cost of attacking, vilifying, disparaging, or discriminating against any other group.

This is our problem, too, as educators. Attitudes toward groups grow up with children. The groups they are born into and the groups they become a part of as they grow are essentials to personal security.

What does minority-group-belonging mean? How do members of our minorities feel? What implications are there in the history of majority-minority group association that we can apply to the solution of school problems?

The Negro Group

The problem of being white or of being Negro in the United States is not an easy one to define. The years and generations of separateness have distorted the view that each group has of the other. Many Negroes in the segregated states of the South, and the Harlems of the North, have had only limited contact with white people. They know few as friends and fewer still as equals. Similarly, many people of the white group have known few Negroes as equals and friends. The ever-present conspicuous factor of color has kept both groups from seeing each other as human beings first. Out of this kind of separateness have developed racial myths that each group believes about the other. The Negro version of white traits and characteristics is not any more complimentary than the white view of Negro traits and characteristics, and each is equally untrue. It is impossible to characterize a whole group as "musical" or "lazy" or "domineering" or "happy-natured," or "superior." Certain ways of behaving will be more characteristic of one group than another in a given situation but reverse the situations and the characteristics will shift. The Negro is one of the oldest residents of this country, but his isolation from the main streams of American middle-class life which have so influenced the thinking of American educators and leaders is one of our main concerns when he is enrolled in the dominantly white public-school system.

The public-school system is predominantly white in the sense that it is oriented toward a one-racial concept. What we mean here is that the textbooks, the educational movies, the many materials of instruction, show white children usually engaged in typically-white middle-class activities. It is highly probable that most white school children do not notice consciously the absence of other racial representation from the illustrations in their textbooks. But it is also most probable that children of the minorities do notice that they are not pictured. Further, both groups become unconsciously educated to the assumption that in many such situations non-whites are not expected to appear. In recent years the contributions made to American growth by outstanding Negroes have been given space in the standard texts. Such texts are used in some places. But one may doubt if this kind of single reference can wholly compensate for the almost complete lack of acknowledgment that Negroes are part of the American people which goes on all the rest of the time in the classroom. This white-oriented aspect of our educational system is further accentuated by the near monopoly of leadership roles held by white educators.

Another important factor to consider is that, where segregation has been the rule, the Negro schools have often been lacking in many educational requisites. Negro teachers' salaries have been lower in many instances, fewer supplies have been available, classes more crowded, less money per pupil has been spent, and often some facilities have been entirely lacking.

Great strides toward equalization have been made in many places, with noteworthy success. But the gap is still large in many situations where segregation occurs. The meager economic background of many Negro children in the less advantaged segregated areas of the country has also had its effects. Poorly nourished children, from homes where literacy is looked upon as a luxury that cannot be afforded, are not motivated to exert any great intellectual effort, particularly when the goals of such effort seem to be almost completely unattainable or where the individual is socially punished for thinking of raising his status. In many places both the white and Negro group look with suspicion on the ambitious Negro who seems to be trying to change his social role. This feeling has dogged the footsteps of the genuinely ambitious and talented Negro and has been a factor in attracting Negro talent to areas of the country where such talent can be developed with less of this kind of personal anxiety.

Spanish-Speaking Children

Probably the second largest group with which we are concerned in providing an undifferentiated school experience is that of the Spanish-speaking children. These children come from homes where the native tongue of the parents is Spanish-Mexican or Puerto Rican-Spanish. Sometimes the parents can neither understand nor speak English. The children may arrive at the public school without any facility in English whatsoever.

School officials have found the problem not an easy one to solve. In many districts where there are great numbers of such Spanish-speaking children, separate schools are maintained. In other systems, separate classes are established composed only of these children. Now we must consider the kinds of group differences that must be taken into account where such separation is no longer considered proper policy.

The Spanish-speaking child learns, along with his language, some cultural values and habits that differ from those of the Anglo group. He is traditionally Roman Catholic.

His food differs; family relationships and traditions are different. Furthermore, the many Spanish-speaking families are most often in the lowest labor categories, with very uncertain and small incomes, derived from agricultural stoop-labor, railway-gang work, and other similar jobs. Many of the parents are illiterate in both English and Spanish, are suspicious of the secularization of the public schools, fear the separation between family members that American ways may bring, are deeply aware of their isolated social position and, in general, give only a minimum kind of support to the goals and values stressed by the public schools.

What does it mean to have to live in two languages in an America where English (without an accent) is a primary requisite to ease of social movement at all ages and all levels? Spanish becomes a handicap. It becomes a mark of low status. Mexican or Puerto-Rican customs associated with Spanish-speaking people are not valued highly in Anglo culture. What bulwark does the child have against such a barrage of social disdain?

The Spanish-speaking child must usually overcome a grave intellectual handicap. Practially all school materials are geared to English-speaking children. How can the double language become an asset instead of a terror? Can Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking children live side by side in school without using the language tool as a means of group aggression? Is the problem of integrating Spanish-speaking children purely a school matter or a concern of the total community in assisting to raise the sights and standards of families and neighborhoods? Probably the most difficult individual problem is that of the child of Mexican or Puerto-Rican parentage who speaks no Spanish, is as Americanized as his Anglo classmates, but is made to feel the invidious discrimination that is accorded hyphenated Americans in his community.

Children of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, American-Indian Origin

These groups have a similiarity only in the sense that they have also a high physical visibility; they are easily distinguished from the white majority group. We speak of them here together mainly because they represent relatively small groups in any community and because the problem of integrating them in the schools seems well on its way to solution.

In areas where there are large concentrations of any one of these minority groups, one may find schools almost totally composed of children of one group only. Then they suffer the same handicaps and personal-adjustment problems that others who are segregated suffer. Where there is a language difference, as in the case of schools for children of Chinese background in a highly concentrated Chinatown, then the children find it difficult in the extreme to fit into the main stream of American life.

In many communities the Chinese and Japanese groups seek to retain many cultural traditions that are significant and important to them. These often tend to set them apart even further from the rest of the community. The younger generations of these groups often find themselves in deep conflict with the parent generation, particularly where the parents speak little or no English and have little access to American ways. The isolation of such children can often be extreme; they are at home neither with their families nor among their Caucasian age mates. Their distinctive appearance makes them different where they may not be different and alike where they may not feel alike.

Other Ethnic Minorities

The pattern of immigration to this country has typically resulted in the growing-up of neighborhoods where one ethnic group is predominant. This residential concentration of ethnic groups is gradually disappearing as the second and third generations move into more desirable locations. Typically these ethnic concentrations have been slum and tenement areas and the pressure to get on and out has been particularly felt by the later generations.

A recent wave of immigrants from Puerto Rico has, however, accentuated the fact that we still do not know fully how to help these foreign-speaking individuals, who have different cultural patterns, to accommodate to American cities and institutions. While the problem of the older immigrant is fading, new immigrants repeat the same pattern. We have learned a great deal about working with foreign-speaking groups; it is time to apply this knowledge more effectively.

New Population Groups

One of the most startling phenomena of recent years has been the sudden appearance of vast new housing tracts on the edge of a community, housing projects that replace slum areas, and sometimes whole new towns where there had formerly been only fields. The war industries and military establishments brought in many new groups in many communities across the country. Many times local patterns were completely disrupted in trying to accommodate these vast and unexpected increases in the population. Inevitably tensions developed. Many communities were not happy to see the whole atmosphere of their home town change almost overnight. Prices for everything became excessive as demand exceeded supply. Many people of course made a great deal of money because of the consumer demands of the new groups, but others just felt squeezed.

Sometimes, as in the case of some suburban developments, the new population groups differed very much from the older settled community. Social class differences accented the expected differences between newcomer and old resident. In some towns arguments became heated when the problems of placing new schools were being discussed.

Harassed school people in some of these mushrooming communities have found that working out patterns of community cooperation is the only salvation. The total community must see and understand the problems of population pressure. In many instances the tension has been increased because the new populations have been from distant regions of the United States and the non-white groups have also grown tremendously in number.

Many People—One Nation

From cultural diversity has come much of the American genius. A common set of values necessary for national survival has not been easy to attain when the groups that made up America were so different. Yet we have succeeded to a remarkable degree in becoming one nation.

The task is not yet done. Differences still divide us, rather than enrich us. Hostility between groups makes many a community uneasy in too many places in our country. The one great agency where common values can be learned, common tasks pursued regardless of group differences, is the school. Achieving a peaceful community, where each person can pursue his own best life, rests most significantly now with the decisions to be made about our schools.

V. THE BALANCE SHEET IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

While the Supreme Court decision has been greeted by mixed reactions, it is abundantly clear that the decision has resulted, within four years, in the dropping of segregation from many school districts. At the time of the decision, 17 states and the District of Columbia maintained segregated schools. As of now, five states and the District of Columbia have made desegregation the official policy. These states, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Maryland, with the District, enroll more than 250,000 Negro children who are attending non-segregated schools. Not every district in all of these states has desegregated. In many counties of Maryland, for instance, there are only token efforts to desegregate, while other counties have moved a bit further.

Four states are divided as to their desegregation program. These states, Arkansas, Delaware, Tennessee, and Texas, have some areas where desegregation has occurred easily and rapidly, and other areas where it not only has been opposed, but bitterly fought. Several of these states were scenes of marked mob reaction to desegregation, yet other places in the same state had peacefully moved ahead. North Carolina might also be included among the states where a very gradual approach to desegregation occurred; three districts reported desegregating, enrolling a total of 11 Negro children, of whom one dropped out after unpleasant student attacks.

No desegregation whatsoever has occurred, at any school level, in the states of Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Alabama.

In the two remaining states, while there is no desegregation at the public school level, Negroes are permitted to attend public colleges and universities. These states are Louisiana and Virginia.

Several states where resistance is at its peak have passed legislation that would close a public school if it were ordered to desegregate under court order, and, if this were not sufficient, additional legislation that would immediately close a school where Federal troops were utilized to enforce the law, as in the Little Rock case.

The picture will undoubtedly change with each school year. Resistance to desegregation is proving costly and, in many cases, futile. Negro impetus to move toward desegregation has picked up, and with it has come an increased determination to use the ballot box as a means of exerting more influence on local affairs.

Many private and church groups are being heard from, deploring the intransigence of Southern leadership. The change must come sooner or later, is the claim, and thus leadership that balks and promotes internal strife is hardly wise leadership. At the same time there are many voices from the South asking for the moderates to speak up more loudly. The major impression that emerges as the debate continues is that the eight resisting states of the Deep South speak as one in their determination to avoid desegregation at all costs. But, claim many observers and residents of these states, such is not the case at all. There are many individuals who regret the fuss, who recognize that change must come, and who believe that men of good will can find orderly means of achieving the change. States in the Deep South, though similar in legislative record on the matter of desegregation, are still very dissimilar in attitudes and ways of living. Florida and Mississippi and Virginia are very different regions; Louisiana has quite a different flavor from Georgia or Alabama. Rural Alabama is not the same as industrialized Birmingham.

What will happen in the next few years? A great deal will happen; some good, some bad, but it is our faith that the democratic system will prevail.

PART II

WHAT HAPPENS AT SCHOOL

A major policy change in the educational system produces numerous ramifications.

The consequences of a policy change must be explored with imagination and intelligence. In the area in which we are writing, the integration in one educational institution of groups formerly kept apart, the consequences are so many and the situations so varied that we can hope to explore and define only a few of them.

Much has happened since 1954 when the Supreme Court focussed national attention upon segregated schools in a way that had never before occurred. Reading the story of community after community that has desegregated, others where the debate has raged but no action has occurred, still others that have refused to move, and some that have tried and failed, one finds a varied picture. What works in one community has been disastrous in another. What one would predict would cause calamity has been accepted with ease. Overt friction has not materialized in one place, where another has been explosive, to the surprise of everyone. So it goes. The most accurate summary statement of all is that each community is different, and each must work out its own best plan.

But guidelines can be discerned, if only tentatively. Some courses of action *are* more promising. And some policies have been faulty.

I THE SCHOOL BOARD SETS POLICY

The administrator, whether he be in a large metropolitan area or a very small district, will have to seek the basic statement on policy from his school board. In some instances it is possible or probable that a directive from state legal authorities will determine the essential outlines of the policy that will be followed. Then the local body must act consistently with state regulations. It will be the responsibility of the school administrator to see that his school board is properly informed as to all state regulations that may limit or free the local board in making policy decisions.

Within the broad framework of state regulations, local school boards have considerable autonomy and freedom. Many individual cases must be settled; problems of personnel are apt to be purely local. The administrator will want to help the school board think through its position in the following areas:

1. Statement of policy commitment.
2. Districting.
3. Teacher assignments.
4. Special problems and complaints.

Before the board attempts to make decisions about the other aspects of the program, each member would want to consider at length his own feelings and the relation of these to the welfare of the schools. It might be of the utmost value to have informal discussions among the school-board members in the privacy of the home of the superintendent or of a leading citizen, at which time the philosophy of the school board could be thought through.

The Basic Policy Statement

Each school board hopes to direct the growth and activities of the schools under its jurisdiction with the maximum of wisdom and the minimum of disorder and confusion. It is the purpose of every school board to serve the people of the community and nation by providing the best possible education without wasting money or personnel. Bearing this in mind, the school board that must set policy regarding the manner and nature of integration to occur within its system will recognize that only by making an unequivocal and clear statement regarding its own commitment to the program can the community feel confidence in its leadership. Therefore the school board, as the first item on its agenda, will want to formulate a strong, simple, and basic statement that indicates to the public that:

1. The school board is earnestly committed to this new policy.
2. The school board believes the new policy is in the best interests of the community.
3. The policy will be administered with justice and impartiality.
4. The rights and obligations of all citizens and integrity of the administrators and teachers in the system will be respected in implementing the policy in practice.

Because of its timeliness, and because it states so clearly and adequately the kind of policy that provides adequate guidelines for action, we would like to quote in full the statement adopted by the Washington, D.C., school board as of May 25, 1954:

> In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Bolling v. Sharpe, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, believing it to be in the best interest of all citizens of the community of Washington, and necessary to the effective administration of an integrated system within the public schools, hereby adopts the following declaration of policy:
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> 1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.
> 2. No pupil of the public schools shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship to the schools

of the District of Columbia by reason of race or color.

3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.
4. The Board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school on or prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employee not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded relating to the color or race of any such person.
5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all physical facilities without regard to race or color.

In support of the foregoing principles which are believed to be cardinal, the Board will not hesitate to use its full powers. It is pledged to a complete and wholehearted pursuit of these objectives.

We affirm our intention to secure the right of every child, within his own capacity, to the full, equal and impartial use of all school facilities, and the right of all qualified teachers to teach where needed within the school system. And, finally, we ask the aid, cooperation and good will of all citizens and the help of the Almighty in holding to our stated purposes.

The policy statement of the Washington, D.C., school board is cited because of its clarity of statement, and lack of ambiguity. The specific terms may not be spelled out in the same manner by other school boards.

When facing a problem like desegregation, experience from many communities indicates that the policy should be either all or none. There can be no middle ground. Either there is desegregation or *there is a gray area in which irrita-*

tion, confusion, recrimination, and accusation can and will flourish. It is this latter condition that any school board will seek to avoid. ***Neither administrators nor teachers can live and teach in an atmosphere of "if" and "maybe" and "when." These words will undermine public confidence quickly and can seriously damage the kind of education provided for all children.***

When the decision regarding basic policy is reached, and when it is made public in the form of an unambiguous and direct statement, then it should be changed only as long-range experience shows what changes are needed.

Timing

The school-board members as individuals will be continuously alert to community opinion. Experience has shown that it is wisest for the board, as representative of the community, to think through its policy statement. Community support will *then* be sought to implement it. General community discussion prior to a statement of policy can result in crystallizing opposition. A wide involvement in planning will help in reaching wise decisions. The request for community advice and aid should not, however, appear to come from vacillation and weakness. Then confidence in the school board is undermined and opposition groups can capitalize upon community indecision to produce conflict and tension.

Timing, then, is important. Careful, thoughtful plans will be needed. Publicity for these plans will aid in community acceptance. Premature publicity can produce community unrest. The statement of the policy change and the first steps toward its implementation, if they occur in close succession, will demonstrate to the community that the school board is accepting its legal responsibility to give guidance and leadership in public-school affairs, as representative of the lay community.

There is no guarantee that such a move on the part of the school board will insure community compliance. In some areas where desegregation was to occur, the community reacted negatively because there had been no warning that the school board was considering such a move prior to the announcement of a desegregation policy. In very similar circumstances, a community where considerable discussion occurred throughout the months before a school-board decision, there was also extreme opposition.[5]

The Basis For the Decision

The school board will announce its policy typically in the local newspaper. A statement may be sent to the homes of all children enrolled in the school district clarifying the new policy. A question will immediately arise in the minds of many community residents: Why was this policy adopted?

Interviews among active opponents of desegregation in places such as Clinton, Tennessee showed little awareness of the legal grounds for the school board's action. Many citizens felt that the board and local school officials had acted on their own, for capricious or flimsy reasons. The fact that the board acted as it did because of the need for compliance with a legal mandate was not understood. Other citizens blamed the school principal; he was threatened by anonymous phone calls and life was made miserable for him, as though he were personally responsible for what was taking place.[6]

While many individuals will understand the legal machinery whereby segregation has been declared to be illegal, many others will have no understanding of this at all. In its public statements, therefore, it would seem important for the local school board to make it quite clear that what is being done is a part of our whole democratic constitutional structure. While the school board should certainly shoulder its full responsibility for local observance of legal compliance, it is important to educate the public regarding the basis upon which the decision was made.

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[5] Shoemaker, Don, (ed.) *With All Deliberate Speed,* New York, Harper and Bros., 1957, pp. 41-52.

[6] Shoemaker, Don, *With All Deliberate Speed,* New York, Harpers, pp. 183.

When a school board moves to shift district boundaries, in a system which has no legal segregation, only residential or economic segregation, another kind of community education may be necessary. The New York City school board, for instance, after a lengthy study of the problem, announced that efforts would be made to establish local school districts in such a manner that schools were representative of many different population groups, not just one. There has been much discussion of this policy since, but the discussion has served to clarify and support the necessity for reducing the amounts of voluntary segregation that now limit the educational opportunities of youngsters.

Policy on Attendance Areas

Following the statement of commitment, the school board will need to examine carefully *the policy regarding attendance areas* that will be followed. In some instances it will be simple: where there are two schools in one district, one white and one non-white, then they are combined and there is no problem of districting. However, many school systems will not have such clear-cut decisions to make. Obviously a ruling that applies to one attendance area must apply to all. This is the basic decision.

Two large cities, very near to each other, adopted dissimilar policies regarding attendance areas. Washington, D.C. schools were desegregated with emphasis upon the child's attending school in his own school area. Some degree of shifting was permitted during the first few years, but as desegregation continues, fewer and fewer such shifts are occurring. In Baltimore, on the other hand, no school districts were established. Any child could go to any school he wished if there was room. Initially there was only token desegregation. As the years have passed, however, more and more children are actually attending schools nearby, which has resulted in an ever widening number of schools that are desegregated. Both school systems report satisfaction with their policies.

In the typical school system, the accepted policy is usually that a school should enroll all children who live within a radius of the school and thus have easy access to it. Wherever possible, children should not have to cross a major arterial or other traffic hazard to reach their school. Enrollments should be balanced and adjusted so that class size is fairly equitable throughout the district. One school should not be burdened abnormally and another allowed to become half empty in order to insure homogeneity of school population.

Districts and localities grow at different rates. Changes in industrial locations, the development of business areas, the growing tendency of families to seek suburban locations where there is more play space, have created havoc in many carefully planned school building programs. The appearance of a whole neighborhood may change in less than a decade. Districting policies then must be flexible, within the criteria suggested above, to provide equal treatment for all.

A careful and accurate school census will provide the basic information upon which attendance-area lines can be drawn. Many school districts will have such information; others will need to obtain it. Teachers, students, PTA, and other civic associations can be asked to help gather the information. This very task of making a school census can often serve as a community educational enterprise whereby important segments of the community actually see the educational problem in terms of individual children to be served.

In some situations the gerrymandering of school districts has been resorted to in a mistaken notion that this will prevent complaints, particularly from white patrons. The only consequence, so far observed, of such a policy is to prolong the agony of group adjustment, to perpetuate intergroup tensions, and to develop cynicism toward democratic institutions on the part of many citizens. In one school system where segregation is prohibited by law, any child may be admitted to the school in his district "as long as there is room." When a non-white child seeks admittance, the school is filled up; when a white child appears, there miraculously is space. Such practices result in illegal segregation.

Because of residential patterns in both rural and urban areas, it is probable that for many years to come some schools may draw upon wholly Negro neighborhoods and others upon wholly white neighborhoods. Under such circumstances the public needs to be informed that such an appearance of segregation is beyond the power of the school board to control. However, it is also most likely that such schools will primarily be at the elementary level, where school populations are smaller. Integration will be effected through the larger attendance area of the junior and senior high and through the policy of integrated faculties.

Where community acceptance is possible, it would be of most help to children to attend desegregated schools from the elementary grades upward. It has been shown that where children learn together in their earlier years they are more readily able to accept others in adolescence without intergroup tension. In one California school system, for instance, it was found that Anglo-American children who attended a junior high school where there were Mexican-American students did not develop conflict situations if they had had previous elementary school experience with each other, but where each group met the other for the first time at the junior high level, there was apt to be tension and hostility among some students.

Thus policy regarding attendance areas must not only take into account the matter of law and justice, but also what young people learn about those they associate with in school.

Parental Choice

Another significant question needs to be considered: May parents have any freedom as to what school their child shall attend? If so, on what basis? School systems where there are several high schools, some with specialized offerings, such as a vocational high school and a college-preparatory school, where the subjects they desire are being given, sometimes permit children to attend those schools at the request of parents. This means that some children will attend a high school out of their district. There is nothing wrong with this kind of freedom; in fact, it is part of providing an education for each child best suited to his talents and needs. However, the policy must apply to all. Individuals of course may or may not be qualified to attend the school they seek; but the basis of decision should be on *personal merit* in an integrated school system, not on factors of race or ethnic origin or other such consideration.

Some school districts that have recently desegregated have permitted parents to request transfer for their children based primarily on the reason that the school had changed its composition. Such options have always been accepted by a few parents. Interestingly enough, many Negro parents have asked to have their children in predominantly Negro schools, as well as white parents requesting transfer into predominantly white schools where such an option was permitted. During the early years of the transition from segregation to desegregation experience seems to show that some such machinery should be available for those parents who are particularly disturbed by the change. Later, as the school system adjusts to the new policy, it is probable that there will be fewer and fewer such transfer requests. Since school space is limited, a mass exodus is unlikely. But a policy which provides some such easing of the tension probably will assist in community acceptance in the long run.

Another alternative, mass withdrawal of youngsters from integrated public schools in order to place them in segregated private schools, has been a concern of some educators. The New Jersey story does not show this to have occurred. Catholic schools which have integrated report few removals. The same thing is reported of Army posts that changed from a segregated to an integrated basis.

School officials know that changes of attendance boundaries are almost always accompanied by some dissatisfaction. They will not expect ready and willing acceptance by everyone when school boundary lines are changed. The school administration will not seek trouble by gerrymandering a district to include a minority group. Nor will they seek to avoid complaint and dissatisfaction by gerrymandering to leave out territory that would normally be included in the school district, merely because it now introduces a new population group to the school. Experienced school officials know that their best allies are facts, facts known by the citizens of the community, and attendance areas that are drawn on the basis of the facts regarding where children live and where schools are located.

Assigning School Personnel

The third major area of policy to which the school board must address itself has to do with the treatment of school personnel. Who shall be assigned where and how? Many difficult problems will certainly arise, particularly where in a dual system there are many parallel administrative and supervisory jobs, one of which may, with desegregation, no longer be needed. An unequivocal policy statement is needed, to protect the jobs and interests of all concerned. Basic criteria will need to be established, and adhered to with justice. For instance, a school system may have two deputy superintendents in charge of secondary schools, one Negro, one white. With desegregation, it is probable that two such administrators will not be needed but that one deputy superintendent, plus an assistant, can handle the office. Who will get which job? The tendency may be in many instances to choose the white administrator for the chief job and give the assistant position to the Negro. One cannot say that this is or is not the wisest policy. It is probable in many communities that desegregation will be opposed by individuals from the white group. It will appear that their interests are being protected if administrative direction is primarily from the white group. At the same time the Negro group will be sensitive to any appearance of lack of equal treatment, fearing that desegregation will become humiliation or worse. Their interests, too, need protection, and yet in terms of power groups they are less able to find spokesmen. Thus both sides may become involved in suspicion of each other. Negro school personnel are deeply apprehensive of the changes that may come that will affect their livelihood when a system moves from segregation to desegregation. As a professionally trained and competent group, the rights of all teaching personnel must be considered and respected.

The problem can be more easily resolved if acceptable criteria for the selection and placement of personnel are established. Tenure, seniority, demonstrated competence, educational background should be factors that outweigh considerations of the group to which the individual belongs. The more such factors become important, the sooner individuals will all work for the common good, regardless of their group identity.

Every good public-school administrator seeks a balanced faculty. He would not want all prima donnas on one staff, nor all mild Milquetoasts. He seeks to have men and women teachers in each building. A variety of skills are needed so that a variety of student interests and needs may be met. These considerations should determine the allocation of faculty and staff as desegregation and integration become reality.

Can faculty desegregation occur at the same time as school desegregation? Certainly this question is uppermost in the minds of many school personnel, particularly the Negro teachers who may face loss of position under some circumstances. In many large cities faculties are desegregated as a matter of course. Teachers are in short supply. Good teachers, well trained, experienced and competent, are not easy to find. Administrators find that a good teacher of any race or ethnic origin is better, far better, than a mediocre or poor teacher who is of the majority white group.

Yet faculty desegregation may be difficult to achieve. We have evidence of many school systems not in the deep South where teachers of all backgrounds are readily accepted, because they are good teachers. We also have evidence that in other cities, both North and South, teachers who are from different backgrounds are not hired or placed outside of predominantly segregated schools. Some school systems, notably that of Cincinnati, were able to desegregate faculty before attempting large scale desegregation of students.[7]

As the school board thinks through the policies which may affect school personnel, it is well to consider those factors which may affect teacher morale also. Any undermining of the tenure system, for instance, will be viewed with great mistrust by all teachers, whatever the racial group. The school board therefore must seek that kind of policy which protects the best teachers, and promotes balanced faculties and administrative personnel.

Many men complain that they cannot work easily with a woman administrator. Yet there are many schools across the country where this assumption is denied in practice. Good administrators are not restricted to one sex. The same is true when we talk about desegregation. A good administrator is a good administrator and this fact will speak for itself. A school board will find that a new policy of desegregation will be furthered by employing the best personnel regardless of group identity, whereas poor administrators and lackadaisical or incompetent teachers of any group will be a source of trouble and embarrassment, and indefensible.

Attitudes Are Important

Assigning teachers, as has been said, should be done on a fair and arbitrary basis, taking into account the best interests of the school. Competence in teaching should, of course, be of prime consideration. It is likewise very important that the attitudes of individual teachers be carefully assessed. Intransigent attitudes will be found among both white and Negro teachers. Children should not be permitted to suffer because of teacher rejection. But attitudes can change. Situations themselves are excellent educative devices. Teacher workshops, as discussed later, will do much to give those who will teach in an integrated school and as part of an integrated faculty a better understanding of the groups to which others belong. Research on integration in industry and housing shows that even the most verbally prejudiced will usually accept the new situation with grace as long as the authority under which he finds himself upholds the integrated policy with firmness and fairness.

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[7] Ashmore, Harry, *The Negro and the Schools*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. 80 ff.

Meeting Special Problems

There will be problems, though not as many as are envisioned before the fact. There will be complaints. Machinery to consider special problems and complaints could well be established. The school board might look into the possibility of calling upon the administrator to organize a combined lay and professional committee. Such a committee could be empowered to meet with individuals requesting special consideration or who have a complaint involving integration and then make its recommendation to the board. Such a committee would be composed of representatives of the professional staff members of majority and all minority groups, and lay and parent representatives of the same. Thus community opinion can guide the school board's final decision.

One of the abiding problems of school administration is the retention of the best teachers in those situations where their talents are most needed. Yet every year we see the best teachers seeking the "best" schools. The schools where problems occur, where difficulties are being met, are those which even the best teachers avoid. How can we work with good teachers so that they find their deepest professional reward in those schools where good teaching makes the most difference? Difficult schools, those at the zone of transition in large urban areas, or those where slum children are molded by all the problems bred by poverty and ignorance, are those schools in which we need the most competent, the most experienced, the most able teachers. Yet our reward, typically, for demonstrations of competence, is to permit such teachers to go to the "good" neighborhoods.[8] There is no simple answer to this very human problem. But perhaps an answer can be found in some special policy enunciated by the school board which specifically rewards those teachers of merit who choose to remain in schools where the problems are the toughest. Also, the problem may be answered when a total school faculty or school system seeks to find a common *professional* answer.

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[8] Becker, Howard S., "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher", *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, March, 1952, pp. 470-477.

Leadership Will Make the Difference

The school board provides the authority for all acts of the administrator. The board is the voice of the public. When a school system faces desegregation a tremendous demand for wise leadership devolves upon the school board. In instance after instance it has been seen that a forthright and wise school board can make all the difference between an easy transition and one that is fraught with trouble and tension.

The American people have an essential respect for authority and for law. The nature of the democratic process has given the individual citizen a feeling that laws are essentially provided for his welfare and protection. The authority of the school board, too, since it is democratically selected, will be acceptable authority. People, in times of change and crisis, are made irritable and uneasy by weak and shifting authority. For this reason, the school board and the school administrator should accept their responsibility for saying: "This is it" and "We intend to use all legal force at our disposal to see that our policy is followed." This kind of leadership will earn community respect, and will ease community reaction and resistance.

A recent analysis of the desegregation problem has shown that the role of local authority is crucial. People typically find it difficult to identify and follow the appeals of authority where such authority is remote and impersonal. But if Joe Doakes, whom I know and meet almost every day, whom I have learned to respect for his community role and wise leadership, speaks out for a policy, then perhaps I am more moved to consider it seriously and follow his guidance. We must thus never underestimate the importance of people in the immediate locale with whom others can identify.[9] School board members thus have an added personal responsibility; they are the persons who must stand firmly for what is right, for what is morally necessary, and what is legally required, and they must do so publicly and with responsibility.

The preceding pages have been devoted at some length to the kind of policy questions the school board will face. The role of the administrator in this process is apparent. He will have informed himself about any facts that may help in the determination of school-board policy. Above that, he will have considered in conjunction with his own assistants what might be suggested lines for the school board to take. The school board is a tremendously important factor in the democratic direction of our schools. But the administrator has an obligation to think through educational problems with the board of his district as the professional partner in the guidance of the school system.

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[9] Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, New York, 1790 Broadway, New York City, 1957.

II ADMINISTRATIVE PLANNING WITH AND FOR TEACHERS

The policies established by the school board will be carried out by each teacher in each classroom. Teachers, too, may have problems. A policy may sound fine on paper, but it may appear quite different to those who daily face 25 or 40 or 200 students in the elementary or high-school classrooms of the community.

What are the kinds of problems that teachers in this locality think they will face? Each administrator will ask himself this question. And each community will differ. It is absurd to try to suggest the problems that may be uppermost in the minds of all teachers—they result from the kind of community the teacher has been teaching in, the teacher's own feelings about children and groups, and the development of the policy of integration in this particular locale. Thus the administrator will find no easy answers. In any event, the administrator will do well to consider the needs of his teaching staff, first, in terms of in-service introduction to the new policy, and second, the specific in-service educational program that might be developed.

When a new policy has been enunciated, the administrator is wise who takes his staff into his confidence and asks their help in thinking through the administrative, educational and personal problems that may be forthcoming.

The Program of In-Service Education

The program of in-service education may take several forms. There may be a general teacher announcement, followed by a one-day institute. There may be a series of study groups over a period of several months concerned with the impact on teachers of the change in policy. The administrator may call a special administrative workshop for early summer, to be followed by a two or three or five-day teacher workshop just before school opens in the fall. Each school system has its own pattern of in-service education. In the problem area concerning us here, some sort of in-service program appears to be mandatory. One cannot expect teachers, who bear the full emotional impact of the classroom daily for the total school year, to change easily or even graciously if asked to renounce habits of thinking and feeling inherited from generations past. The teacher, too, must be helped.

Probably the best kind of teacher in-service program is that which is worked out with representatives of the teachers themselves. The administrator would invite a group of teachers, representing the elementary, secondary, adult and all other divisions of the public schools, to meet with him as a planning group. This group must be representative of the different teaching levels and of the minority groups on the teaching staff as well.

Finding Areas of Concern to Teachers

Planning the in-service program for the teachers will, of course, involve considering the kinds of special problems that this group may present. What are they?

A carefully devised questionnaire may provide needed information for the administrator. Returns probably should be anonymous. The cover letter ought to state clearly the purpose of the questionnaire. This letter, likewise, should be signed by the representative teacher-planning committee. The questionnaire should be their questionnaire with, of course, the full backing and approval of the administration and the school board. If it seems appropriate, the superintendent and chairman of the school board may also sign the letter introducing the questionnaire. A stamped, self-addressed envelope enclosed with each questionnaire will assure a greater return. Appropriate notices in the superintendent's or principal's bulletin to get all questionnaires in on time will be valuable. Members of the planning committee can talk among their friends and colleagues to urge that all answer the questionnaire. The various teacher organizations may also assist in urging members to respond.

Below is a sample questionnaire that suggests the kinds of problems and topics one would cover.

WORKSHOP ON INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS[10]

Recognizing the fact that the integration of Negro and white teachers and pupils into the public schools of this community may be accompanied by some anxiety on the part of parents, teachers and pupils, a brief workshop on this problem is being planned in our school district. Your cooperation in answering the following questions will be of considerable help to the planning committee of the workshop:

1. Number, in order of greatest concern to you, the following six areas of human relations problems:

............*Teacher-teacher relationships:*

What will be the professional relationships of the teachers?

What will be the social relationships of the teachers?

What tensions may exist between teachers of both races?

............*Teacher-pupil relationships:*

How will the teacher's subject matter be affected by integration?

What can the teacher teach and what can she not consider suitable in an integrated class?

Are there certain types of learning-teaching situations which will produce tensions in an integrated class?

How can the teacher establish rapport with the pupils of the opposite racial group?

............*Parent-teacher relationships:*

How can teachers overcome initial tensions when visiting homes of parents of a different race?

How can teachers help parents to feel at ease or overcome initial attitudes which are unfavorable when parents visit them?

............*Pupil-pupil relationships:*

How can pupils of the minority racial group achieve status in class?

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[10] Adapted from questionnaire prepared by sub-group on integration, Ed. 243, Human Relations in the Classroom, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., Summer 1953.

How can student leaders contribute to the easing of tensions relative to racial integration?

How can the school take into account those pupils of both racial groups who reflect violent hatreds which may lead to explosive situations?

............*Teacher status:*

What will be the status of the teachers when integration is instituted?

How will department heads, supervisors, and other officers be selected?

Should a representative grievance committee be set up for the teachers?

............*Relationships between administrative personnel and teachers:*

What of teachers serving under administrative personnel of different race? How can they be helped to develop wholesome attitudes?

What can be done to develop sound and friendly relationships between the teachers and the school staff, i.e., custodians, clerks, supervisors?

2. What other human relations problems in connection with integration would you like to see taken up in one of the workshop sessions?

3. List the names of any individuals you think might make a substantial contribution toward better understanding of the problem by serving as speakers or consultants. Indicate addresses, if you know them.

4. List any group or organizations which you know of that can help us in setting up and/or conducting the workshop.

5. For how many days do you think it will be necessary to conduct the workshop?

6. What time of day and for what hours do you want the workshop sessions to take place?

7. On the reverse side indicate your suggestions for handling those persons who might be rabid objectors and who may disrupt the session.[11]

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[11] This questionnaire is not designed to be a scientific instrument. It is not suggested that any school district should use this particular form; it is merely indicative of the kinds of problems that might be on the minds of a teacher group that could be ascertained via this method. Other approaches may be equally useful—interviews, small-group discussion, committee reports, etc.

After reviewing the returns from a questionnaire like the above, designed with local problems clearly in mind, the teacher-administrator planning group is in a better position to judge the nature of the problem in its own district. The members of the committee should be actively talking with teachers and all other interested participants in the school program—parents, students, custodial staff, school bus drivers, community leaders. What is their attitude? Are there any potential trouble-spots? What are they? Are there individuals dissatisfied with the schools who may use this new policy as a convenient scapegoat? Is the morale of the teaching staff high or low? How will the new policy affect them?

A careful reading of the questionnaire returns is important. Did everyone answer? Are the answers fairly well distributed among all groups in the school district? What problems seem to predominate?

The Workshop Approach

An in-service program may take any one of a number of forms. Each school system has usually evolved its own approach to in-service education. In facing the problem of integration it appears that one of the most promising ways of helping a school faculty work out the kinds of problems that it may face is through use of the workshop technique.

This does not mean that other kinds of in-service programs may not be equally effective. A stirring speaker, a panel, a series of speakers on various topics, teacher-study committees—these all have important contributions to make. A given approach must be selected because it helps *this* group solve *its* problems in a manner most congenial to it.

Summer Workshops

A school system that may move toward integration in the foreseeable future would find it advantageous to have several of the school personnel participate in one or more of the workshops in human relations that are being given in an increasingly large number of colleges and universities across the country. Scholarships are available to such workshops in many cases through local offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Anti-Defamation League. Many local colleges would be glad to cooperate in putting on a human-relations workshop to meet a local need. The contribution of personnel with this kind of experience in the community can be very great.

In Montgomery County, Maryland, for instance, a group of teachers were encouraged to attend human relations workshops in the locality, at American University, Howard University, and Catholic University during the summer just prior to announced school desegregation. This group met several times during the summer, while they were attending the local workshops, with the Superintendent's special assistant who was assigned to work particularly with school desegregation. These meetings also were attended by school board members (one of whom also enrolled in one of the workshops) and visiting consultants in the human relations field. The workshop group were able to apply more specifically the learnings from the university experience to their own particular schools in their own school systems.

Such leadership training is invaluable. But a school system cannot depend on it to do the whole job. Too few teachers and administrators can attend such workshops. To face squarely, and handle adequately, the changes that are implicit when a school system desegregates calls for the concerted efforts of all. An attempt must be made to reach every member of the professional staff in order that all may participate in thinking through the problems that may occur in the transition period, and afterwards.

Planning the Workshop

Essentially, the workshop approach to in-service teacher education includes planning by the group itself as to what are its major areas of concern. Then the workshop is planned as a rather flexible program with large-group meetings, small-group meetings, then large meetings again. The topics for the meetings may be tentatively set ahead of time, but discussions and decisions in the small or large groups may change what the group desires to discuss. The direction of the workshop is in part in the hands of the planning leadership and is also in the hands of the participants. Thus a group may feel that teacher-administrator relationships warrant a general session, with a panel of teachers and administrators presenting various problems and thinking together about solutions. However, after some discussion, the group may feel that a more crucial problem in *this* community is in getting parent cooperation in support of the new policy. Then this topic can be scheduled for small-group discussion.

A sample schedule for one day of a workshop is given here:

9:00	Opening remarks: school superintendent or principal.
9:15	Panel, speaker, or movie on content subject.
9:45-10:15	Questions from the floor.
10:15-10:30	Coffee break.
10:30-12:00	Assignment to subgroups, explanation of subgroup task, meeting as subgroups to react to morning presentation.
12:15- 1:30	Lunch.
1:30	Reports from subgroups. Summary and comments by outside observer.
2:30- 2:45	Afternoon break for tea or coffee.
2:45- 4:30	Subject matter, special skills or problems groups to meet with or without resource personnel: teachers to choose their own group.
4:30- 5:30	Movie previews, materials on display, workshop planning group to meet.
6:00- 7:30	Dinner. Speaker on content topic.
7:45- 9:00	Subgroup meetings to react to speaker and day's activities. Evaluations and reactions to workshop to be written out by

subgroup and given to workshop planning committee.

The workshop approach emphasizes the importance of having many opportunities for each person to participate. The time is so scheduled that there is a *minimum of listening and being told,* and a *maximum of group discussion.* This kind of group participation can only take place in small groups. The idea of the "buzz group"—small groups of 6 to 10 persons talking informally together for 10 minutes or an hour depending on the problem at hand—has been used successfully in many situations.

The success of a workshop in helping change attitudes is aided when there is a de-emphasis on status. Teachers, administrators, even students, discuss freely together on the basis of their own experience. In the sub-groups, this process is helped if leadership is arbitrarily assigned and is passed around among the group at different sessions.

Selecting Work Groups

The workshop procedure is aided where groups cut across subject matter and grade-level lines. The greater the variety of individuals in a group of this sort, the more likely that understanding of each other's problems will be helped. Instead of talking only to those of a like disposition with the same ideas, participants have a broadening of experience through exchanging ideas with those from all parts of the school system. In this kind of informal exchange, furthermore, distance between people can be more easily bridged. Where the very new experience of working as an integrated faculty is to occur shortly, the small buzz group provides a professional yet friendly atmosphere in which people from different group backgrounds may talk together, and may learn that all share an essential humanity and professional concern.

Assignment of individuals to discussion groups probably should be done by the planning committee ahead of time. This will ensure the kind of cross representation that was mentioned above. Persons, of course, who are distinctly unhappy with their group should be permitted to shift; this usually only occurs with one or two persons.[12]

A workshop takes time. A lecture may present important facts in an hour, but for individuals to relate those facts to themselves and apply them to their teaching situations may, in group discussion, take a whole day.

A series of voluntary workshop-type seminars on integration were successfully conducted by the American Friends Service Committee in Washington, D.C., in 1953-54. It was found that even in the short space of a day and a half thirty individuals from both races, representing all aspects of the educational program, could come to an objective and sympathetic understanding of the problems each group might face with the advent of desegregation.[13]

Content of the In-Service Program

Again, one must stress the fact that each school system will have needs unique to its own situation. One cannot say what topics of content are more relevant than others, since localities differ so greatly. Following are suggestions on content that have come from a number of sources and which, in part or in total, may be applicable in the majority of cases:

1. Facts and information about the local school system as it prepares for the new policy change.
2. Facts about people and groups. The sociology and psychology of group belonging. The history of intergroup relations in our nation and in this locality.

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[12] Kelley, Earl C., *The Workshop Way of Learning*, N. Y., Harper and Bros., 1951; Taba, Hilda, *Leadership Training in Intergroup Education*, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1953; Strauss, Bert and Frances, *New Ways to Better Meetings*, N. Y., Viking Press, 1951; Corey, Stephen M., *Action Research to Improve School Practices*, New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1953; Aderson, Walter A., Baldwin, Rollin P., and Beauchamp, Mary, *The Workshop Handbook*, New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1953.

[13] Osborne, Irene, "A Report on a Program of Seminars for Public School Teachers in Anticipation of Conversion from a Segregated School System to Integration," Philadelphia, American Friends Service Committee, 1954, mimeo.

3. How policy changes affect the way teachers feel. How it feels to be a teacher; some of the emotional problems of teaching. How the new policy may affect some members of the staff.
4. The teacher in relation to parents and community.
5. The specific plans of the administration and school board and the policy statement of the board. Assurance to the teaching group of the full confidence of the board and administration that the best interests of each teacher will be fully considered.

There are now a number of school systems in various regions of the country where integration has successfully occurred. School personnel from such communities might be asked to come in as consultants to describe the approach used. Experts in the field of intergroup relations may be called upon from such organizations as The National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Anti-Defamation League, Catholic Interracial Council, American Jewish Committee, YWCA, and centers for human relations at the University of Miami, Boston University, New York University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan. While there may be a tendency to look upon all such persons as "outsiders" who "don't know *our* problem," they can help the local group look more objectively at the kinds of problems to be solved in Hometown.

Information *materials* may also be provided. At the end of this pamphlet is a bibliography from which the administrator and teacher group may select items that teachers would find useful. Many pamphlets have been written in the intergroup field. A packet of such inexpensive materials might be provided for each teacher as part of the in-service program.

Teacher Counseling

Any new policy is bound to bring with it some disturbance in the faculty group. Even when times are most serene, individual teachers have personal and teaching problems that require tact and understanding on the part of the administrator. Where a new program for integration is being planned and put into effect, the wise administrator will make himself or a staff aide very accessible to individual teachers.

An administrator would want to be alert to help in situations where the teacher may not seek it voluntarily. Some teachers may find a new policy a good time to complain about any and all aspects of the school program. A few teachers may be genuinely psychologically disturbed by the new situation and be incapable of dealing rationally with their own feelings. Such teachers may need help more expert than the principal can provide. Experience from many communities indicates that actually few such troubled individuals will be found. The principal who is a good listener will find the transition can be accepted in stride by most persons.

As has already been mentioned, teacher attitudes are tremendously important. A teacher who does not like a child can make his further education a psychological impossibility. Since teachers, too, have stereotypes and prejudices, some teachers will find it impossible to become "colorblind" in an integrated situation. This will be true of both Negro and white teachers. Attitudes do change and it may take some teachers longer than others.

The first few months may, in some instances, be fraught with many misgivings. There may be outbreaks of protest which are not easy to face with equanimity and wisdom. But, assuming that the transition is accepted by the community as part of the expected state of affairs, school people report that the first year or so of desegregation is not difficult. In fact, it may be considered a kind of "honeymoon" period with everyone on his best behavior. It is the second, third and later years that often pose the more difficult and long-ranging problems. These are the years when school people, through continually working and studying together, must find solutions not only to the new problems which may have appeared with desegregation, but the enduring problems of educating all the children of all the people in this most challenging and complex of worlds.

Evaluating the Program

The best in-service program is no insurance that everything will happen in the best possible fashion. Plans made in May might be completely unrealistic when reviewed in September. And what works in September may be full of "bugs" by January.

How do we know how well we are doing? Certainly the school board is going to be interested in knowing how its policy is being implemented. Vigilant community observers will also be watching the schools. An evaluation of this sort is a continuous process. Each year the principal, the superintendent and the teaching staff will want to assess progress over the year, and decide what things can be done differently in the year to come.

In preparing for continuous evaluation of this sort, the following pattern may prove useful:

1. Defining the goal—this would of course be based on the statement of policy of the school board and administration, within the broader concept of our educational purposes.
2. What plans were made: for teachers, pupils, parents, community?
3. How well did they work? Have we any evidence of dissatisfaction? Where from? How is it being handled? Are there any areas of tension? How are they being handled? What are the major teaching problems—by grade level, subject, school?
4. What new approaches can be suggested?

The evaluation process works best when most members of a staff are participants. Administrators may request teacher study groups to gather information to answer items two, three and four above. Such study groups should of course be fully representative so that all shades of opinion and experience are covered.

Providing a Hearing for Teacher Complaints

The use of the evaluation approach is one objective method for getting away from the "gripe" session. A new policy may produce a very vigorous crop of complaints and complainers. Establishing what our common goals are, describing the plans we made to reach them, then asking how well our planning worked, helps individuals to have a broader vision and not just fuss about their own personal dissatisfactions.

There may, however, be a place for a "teacher gripe committee," though it might officially be called the evaluation committee. This committee's purpose would be to listen impartially to complaints of unfair treatment. Where such complaints involve intergroup feeling, they need careful assessing. Where the habits of stereotyping have determined how people have thought about each other for years, it is not easy to substitute professional and objective standards. And complaints that are not aired and listened to sympathetically can become sources of infection. Part of the problem can be solved through expert administrative counseling, as has already been mentioned. But many times teachers may feel that the administrator is too powerful and they are afraid to go to him for help. The administrator might find it judicious to have a representative teacher committee, composed of the wisest and most respected teachers in the system, to listen to teacher complaints and to recommend action to him or the individuals concerned. Teachers of all groups will then have greater assurance that their interests are being considered and protected.

Cooperative Action Is Vital

The kind of teacher program described here assumes that there will be active interchange of ideas and problems between the teaching and administrative groups. This is not characteristic of all school systems, however. Where teachers have only recently been included in planning school affairs, the administrator may find teachers reluctant to assume responsibility and fearful of acting independently.

Not all teachers will be equal partners. In many communities, members of minority groups may be most reluctant to offer opinions or suggestions. In other situations aggressive leadership may seek to dominate the teacher group. It is only through practicing in many situations the process of thinking together in the solution of common problems that these kinds of differences can be overcome, and a genuine partnership of all teachers be established.

Teaching Assignments

In many school systems the move to desegregate students will be accompanied by a policy to desegregate faculties. It has been found that Negro teachers can be absorbed more easily in desegregated situations if the school system is large enough and residential patterns are such that there are many predominantly Negro schools in which most of the Negro personnel will be employed. At the same time, however, as experience in Washington, D.C., for example, demonstrates, Negro teachers can successfully be integrated in school faculties even where there are no Negro children in the school, if the school board and school administration support such a program.

It is certain that the best basis for a good school program is the employment of competent personnel. Then, regardless of considerations of religion, race or ethnic origins the quality of the education speaks louder than anything else in defense of such a policy.

It was reported by one principal in a suburban area where there had been limited desegregation, and where two Negro teachers had been placed with the formerly all white faculty, that several parents made a point of coming forward on registration day and saying, "Will you place my child in Miss X's second grade? It may be her only chance to benefit from being instructed by a Negro and I think this is a very important experience for her." This kind of community feeling, while often not as articulate as the opposition opinion, does exist, and is heartening.

Where faculty integration is part of the plan, any particular procedure will have more chance of succeeding if teachers have been active partners in helping to formulate policy and guide implementation. Anxiety flourishes when the future is unknown. Teachers who do not know where they will be teaching the following semester—or even if they are to be retained on their jobs—cannot teach well, but can feed community unrest. Teachers who have assurance that there is adequate teacher representation in the making of plans that affect their own working conditions will have strong morale.

Building Group Morale

Every working situation is a society in microcosm. Where social relationships are easy, where status problems are at a minimum, where cooperation rather than competition is encouraged, teachers are best able to do a positive teaching job. When a school system is looking toward integration, extensive opportunity for joint activities should be planned for the months or years preceding integration.

Teachers who learn to respect each other as professional colleagues will be able to solve together common school problems. It would be helpful to any school system that is required to integrate to give the teachers ample experience in working together. Then the teachers can give full attention to their children who are facing a new situation and not be burdened also with adjusting to a new situation themselves. Where there are separate teacher's associations, it would be helpful to work with the leadership of both associations with a view to combining their membership in one professional group. It is difficult to have a desegregated system function if, in their professional relationships, the teachers and staff are not enabled to work together on both school and professional problems.

Working with Non-Teaching Personnel

The contact that the child and parent has with the teacher is the central relationship in the education of the individual. On the periphery, however, are the other personnel in the school who also have contacts with the children and sometimes the parents as well. In the school office, a pleasant, well-informed receptionist is the first indicator of the tone of the school that many parents and community leaders will meet. This individual must be selected on the basis of a friendly and helpful manner to persons of all races in an integrated school. The same individual very often is the one who relays messages to teachers; the office clerk may oversee supplies and equipment, distribute mail and arrange for the other innumerable details of an office. It is obvious that this individual and the others in the school office should be persons well aware of their obligation to be fair, pleasant, and helpful to all.

Another key individual is the bus driver. Desegregation of schools will in most instances mean desegregation of school services such as the bus. Driving a bus-load of high-spirited youngsters is not a job that is designed to relax the nerves. The new situation of a desegregated bus may put a tax on the alertness of the driver. Rules and codes of bus conduct can be worked out by teacher-parent-student committees. Older children may be assigned to supervise where this is legally possible, and teachers may also assist. In all instances, of course, the policy of fair and equitable treatment will produce the quickest adjustment to the new situation.

III THE ADMINISTRATOR PLANS WITH THE COMMUNITY

It is probably not necessary to say that the community is as deeply concerned with what happens in the school as are the school people themselves. To each parent with a child in school what happens in the school is of paramount importance. And just because each parent is concerned about only one or two or three children, and a teacher with 30 or 150, and an administrator with several thousand, there is apt to be a difference in the way a problem *feels* to parents, and the way it *feels* to school people.

It is easier for the professionally trained educator to be objective about what happens in the school, and to take the long view. A new program may be difficult to adjust to in the first few months or years, the schoolman can say, but eventually everything will be ironed out and children will get a better education than ever. But many parents do not think about the long haul. A parent is concerned, and most intimately concerned, with the *here* and *now*.

The community is more than parents, too. The alumni of our schools live in the locality and they have a loyalty for their schools, often a very strong one. Community groups of many kinds have a genuine interest in education and what happens to the young people of the area.

Events since 1954 have pointed out that parents are only one group in the community interested in the schools. Where desegregation is to take place many adults become acutely concerned. Desegregation of the schools means a basic change in the traditional way of organizing society. To change any one part may presage changes in other parts. It may be schools today, and parks, transportation, lunchrooms—who knows—tomorrow? It is this community feeling that lies behind much of the disturbance over school desegregation. Its causes are many. We cannot explore them here, except to note that moving from a segregated to a desegregated school system is not just an educational change; it is a social change of far-reaching implications.

What approach to desegregation works best? The experience of hundreds of communities does not give us a clear cut pattern. Desegregation can occur in one grade at a time, starting with the primary grades. It may take place in a few selected schools with only a very few new children involved. A total system may desegregate. The colleges first, then high schools, followed by elementary schools, may be the pattern followed. Each of these, and many variations, have been reported. And each administrator probably feels that, while the plan he followed worked fairly well for his community, another plan might have worked equally well in assuring an orderly transition.

Community acceptance of a policy of desegration will be more apt to be forthcoming if

— the school board makes its policy clear and unequivocal

— administrators and teachers show a willingness to carry out the policy

— there is ample room for individuals to be heard, but the basic policy will not be watered down by exceptions and giving in to pressure

— there is demonstration of fairness to all

— opportunities are provided for community groups and community leaders to share in evaluating and assisting the process of desegregation.

There is no guarantee how a given community will react to a change of policy leading toward integration. The evidence so far shows the ease with which community after community has accepted integration as part of the pattern of things. A few communities may become unduly tense. Since the public schools belong to the people the administrator will want to seek the guidance and obtain the support of all parents and of as wide a cross-section of community groups as he can.

Community Strategy

We do not know enough about community dynamics to say for certain that a single approach will work. The evidence is limited and scattered. We can, however, suggest a pattern that provides a framework to help gain community support for school changes.

First: Enlisting articulate and public support for the new policy from individuals of unimpeachable community standing and high prestige.
Second: Seeking parent support, and providing some means of parent education about the new situation.
Third: Finding and using local community leadership.

Step one above may be implemented effectively through the close cooperation of the local newspaper, radio and TV stations. The statements that can be obtained from the prestige leaders of the community can be given wide dissemination by these means. It is true that, in some communities, the top leaders of the community may not support school desegregation, and may not be willing to be quoted in support of the new policy. But in most communities there are persons of good will and high ideals who will support the new policy. Other leaders of prestige may support the policy because, despite their own convictions, they believe in upholding law and order, and thus will speak to defend that which is required by compliance with the law.

In school assemblies, in all kinds of public meetings, reference to outstanding public figures who support what the schools are doing gives weight and authority to the local school program. As people are helped to feel that what is happening to them is, first, sanctioned by people whom they respect and admire, and second, is something that is generally happening in other places, then community reaction will be consistent with responsible democratic citizenship.

Parents

The psychological place to start local community education is with the parents of the children. Here the advice and assistance of teachers will be invaluable. Many teachers have a very good knowledge of the parents in the district and can give the administrator help in spotting both potential trouble areas and potential supporters and leaders among the parents of all classes and groups.

Anxiety and trouble are fed by rumors. Sooner or later a rumor will get around that "all Negro children are going to have the worst teachers," or "they are only going to let white children be chosen for student-body office." There will be claims and counter claims as to what the schools are going to do long before the schools contemplate doing anything. When a rumor gets strong enough, a very clear and direct statement about the rumor and its truth or lack of it should be made. As often as seems necessary the administration will find it helpful to repeat its intention to be as just and fair and reasonable as it can possibly be, keeping the interests of *all* children and their parents as their first concern.

When the policy has been decided upon, parent representatives should be invited by the board to help in implementing the policy. It has already been suggested that a committee of the board include additional lay persons who represent all segments of the community life. This group would be empowered to meet with and listen to all community reactions to the new policy and any complaints or problems that have arisen outside the faculty group.

While the National PTA has made a statement supporting desegregation, local units can still operate as they wish. In some localities, with desegregation of schools will come a move to desegregate the PTA. Such a move can be aided by a sympathetic administrator. Also, PTA leadership can assist in planning educational and informative programs that will provide background for parents.

Individual parents may resist the new policy. It should be made clear to all parents that the welfare of their children is the first concern of the schools. And then it must be made clear that as long as the parent wishes the child to go to public school and resides in that district, he will attend the public school as arranged for him. Often when such a positive, yet reassuring, statement is made, parent fears are allayed.

But these tactics do not always work. In a few instances, and fewer than the news stories would lead one to believe, some parents become highly disturbed over the prospect of desegregation. They may harass the school administrator. They may fill their own child with such antipathy to the new situation that the child also becomes a school problem. In a few instances the parents have gathered as a mob in front of schools where desegregation was taking place.

Such actions are to be deplored. In a few instances, such tactics have resulted in the school board's going back on its original policy. Certainly people have the right to their feelings and opinions and attitudes. But where the law has been clearly established, where the issue of civil rights had been clearly resolved, such pressure methods should not influence lawful procedures. This is particularly important when children's safety, security, and well-being are at stake. The moral actions of adults speak louder than all their words; it is important to work with parent groups so that youth have adequate adult models conveying to them a sense of the rightness of the democratic way of life.

Teachers Meet Parents

The teachers are the ones who will deal face-to-face with most parents. What should the teacher say or do? A school group, representing the total teaching staff, could "try out" ways of talking with parents. First they could list the probable kinds of situations that will be presented:

- the parent who is sure the teacher is prejudiced against her child and is grading the child unfairly.
- the parent who wants the child changed to another teacher because the parent does not like the race of the teacher.
- the parent who reports that her child is being picked on by the others because of his race.
- the parent who is shrill, irrational and hysterical about the whole situation but can cite no evidence of trouble.

There will be many specific instances to illustrate these types, and other situations that teachers can report. A teacher group will find it useful to "role-play" these situations so as to gain security in ways of talking with such parents. In "role-playing," the group decides on a specific situation that members may encounter. Then the persons in the situation are described. These might be a teacher of a sixth grade, with a parent who has a complaint about the way the class is organized. One teacher takes the "role" of the sixth-grade teacher, another teacher plays the "role" of the parent. Then these two act out the situation as they think it might happen in real life. The audience of teachers then can comment on or react to what was played out. Other members of the group may have different ways of talking with the parent. Then these can be acted out for the group to evaluate. In this fashion, the members of the group see different ways of handling the situation. No script or memorizing is needed. The enactments usually take only a few minutes. They help considerably to give real life to a discussion about human-relations situations.[14]

The fears of parents are most apt to be reduced if the child reports home that he has a good teacher, he is learning, he is happy in school. It is for this reason that the administrator will want to make sure that his teaching staff is the best that he can provide. *This is the most unshakable answer to criticisms of education.*

When desegregation has been accomplished, it is probable that parents will welcome a chance to meet the new teacher and to view the new teaching situation. Many schools have already had successful experiences with a "back-to-school" evening for parents, when the parents take the place of the children for an hour or so, and the teacher explains his purposes and program, and the work of the youngsters is on display. Using such situations to bring together parents with children in the same class and then discuss their common educational concerns provides a good unemotional situation to dispel the ghost of group differences. People differ as *individuals;* this is an important concept, but the differences that people think exist between *groups* are very often a product of lack of knowledge of each other.

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[14] Alexander, Jean E., *Let's Get Down to Cases.* Chicago, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1950, 26 pp.; Benne, Kenneth D. and Muntyan, B. (eds.), *Human Relations in Curriculum Change.* New York, Dryden Press, 1951. "What is Role-Playing? Some Comments on the Uses of Role-Playing," pp. 221-247; Shaftel, Fannie and George, *Role-Playing the Problem Story.* New York, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 80 pp.; Strauss, Bert and Frances, *New Ways to Better Meetings.* New York, The Viking Press, 1950. Role Playing, pp. 91-110; Maier, Norman R. F., *Principles of Human Relations.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1952, pp. 87-173.

Reaching the Wider Community

A new policy of desegregation presents the administrator with a golden opportunity to enroll the help of community agencies in support of the schools. Many school districts in the country have a Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools. Such an organization will of course be one of the first that the administrator will call upon to discuss the proposed new program, and enlist help and suggestions.[15]

The press, radio, and TV stations are important avenues of reaching public opinion. The editor of the local paper will serve school interests best if he is well informed about the program to be adopted. The time taken to explain carefully and in detail what the schools are doing, and why, will be repaid by more objective and sympathetic newspaper reporting. Again, rumors that distort public understanding can be caught early if the local paper cooperates in factual, disinterested, and ample reporting.

Finding Community Opinion Leaders

Studies of community opinion toward the schools indicate that newspapers, radio and TV reach many, but not all, who influence public opinion. In each community one will find "opinion leaders." These are persons who may not even know the influence they wield. We often make the mistake of thinking that such leaders come from the elite or top-social group in a community. This is not always so. Opinion leaders may come from almost any part of the town. They are persons who attract others, who express and hold definite opinions themselves, and who have a kind of freedom of movement and expression that others emulate. How do you find these opinion leaders? They can most easily be spotted, when one is concerned with school opinion, by listening and questioning. A parent may say, "I have heard that you people are not teaching spelling in the second-grade any more." The administrator or teacher on the alert to find opinion leaders in the community would ask, "Where did you hear that? Are there others who believe that? Did any one person tell you that?"

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[15] For further information on the formation of lay citizens' groups, write National Citizens' Council for Better Schools, 9 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Many long-time residents of a community are good sources of information as to who the opinion leaders are. Teachers who participate in many community activities are good sources, also. Once such leaders have been tentatively identified, plus the more traditional leaders of the community such as the Mayor, President of the local Chamber of Commerce, Commander of the local American Legion, the administrator will want to find an opportunity to talk to each about current school problems. With impending school integration foremost in people's minds, undoubtedly the question will be raised. The administrator will want to know the general attitude of the community person to whom he is talking. Is he generally favorable to the schools? Generally unfavorable? If so, why?

It must be kept in mind that many of the most powerful opinion leaders are women. While they may not dominate the traditional community power groups, still they influence the attitudes and opinions of many in social gatherings and their own women's organizations.

In planning with the community for desegregation the responsibility for calling key individuals together will usually devolve upon the white school administrator. He will want to meet with and discuss the problems to be solved with the leaders from minority groups in his community. Who are these leaders? In deciding which persons can speak for the local minority groups, the school administrator will want to avoid a common pitfall.

One must not assume that the individuals from minority social groups who have been accepted by the majority group necessarily exercise much influence on opinion within the minority group. In one Southern California community a man, whose ethnic background was Mexican-American, was widely respected among business and professional leaders of the majority group. He proved, however, to have little following among other persons with the same ethnic background in that community. The sense of identification is the key to accurate social grouping, not the superficial marks by which an individual is usually placed.[16]

How can the school administrator make best use of local community leadership? He may not actually organize any formal group but, through a conscientious and determined effort to talk and meet with the major community representatives, he has a good idea where he can call for public statements of support, and with whom he may want to carry on further personal contact for educational purposes. Personal rapport with these leaders will be more effective in the long run than hours of "meetings" in large groups.

The administrator in most instances can look to the local churches for support in achieving an orderly desegregation. Most of the major Protestant denominations, the Catholic and Jewish groups have all made forthright and powerful statements supporting the moral basis for desegregation. By writing to the NCCJ or the ADL copies of such statements can be obtained.

In addition, there are numerous other local organizations that will be interested and helpful when called upon. The League of Women Voters, the American Association of

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[16] Johnson, Eugene, "Discovering and Working with the Real Community," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 28:142-150, March, 1958. Hunter, Floyd, *Community Power Structure*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 1953.

University Women, the various social-welfare organizations, many union and business groups and service clubs, provide a network of relationships in the life of the community through which school programs may be given understanding and support.

Reaching the Wider Community

Careful studies of those communities where, as desegregation plans were being carried out, there developed serious community disturbances have revealed a significant pattern. In most such instances the leaders of the group that were prone to threaten violence or actually to commit violent acts came from the lower socio-economic class. This group, as many researches show, are those most apt to feel threatened by any rise in the social status of the Negro. Being less well educated, likewise, the white lower class person is less amenable to the appeals of reason and logic. Unfortunately, such persons do lead drab, dull, often unrewarding personal lives, with little hope for betterment in the future. They may see the mounting tension over school desegregation as an opportunity to inject some excitement into their daily rounds. Other motivations certainly are operating as well. Often such persons, when they become a mob which threatens the peace and order of a community, may not even be from that community. It was found, for instance, that numerous persons who gathered around Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, and helped precipitate the prolonged disturbance there over desegregation, were not from Little Rock at all. Many were from several hundred miles away. Why did they come? What business was it of theirs?

The school administrator, armed with such knowledge, must make special efforts to seek contact with the lower class community in his own area. The parents are often those least known by the school, but apt to be more well known by welfare and service organizations. Special educational programs, in the communities where these people live, may be planned. Material mailed to individual homes, giving the real reasons for the new situation, and explaining that the community is not going to tolerate any acts of overt violence, may be necessary in a few instances.

The interesting thing in all this is that no such appeals need to be made to the Negro community. There are no recorded instances of Negroes forming a mob and precipitating mob violence. A group of Indians broke up a Klan meeting in North Carolina, but Negroes have not done so. They have met the threat of violence with non-violence. The fortitude of the Negro group under such provocation cannot go unrecognized.

It is of the utmost importance that the local police authorities be willing to support and aid the school. Human relations institutes for police officers are becoming increasingly active. In enforcing the law, the police must be impartial and vigilant.

Will Overt Conflict Occur?

We cannot predict what will or will not happen in any given community. In Little Rock, for instance, local leaders were sure that the minimum desegregation that was to occur would take place without incident; yet events proved them wrong. In other areas, predictions of trouble have not been realized. Yet the temper of the times has changed. The seeming encouragement given to groups who either wish trouble, or will do anything including dynamiting to prevent desegregation, and recent capitulations to such mob threats, do not bode well for the future. At the same time, it is to the interests of the total community that it not be embroiled in such conflict. Business suffers. New industries will not be built where there is such trouble. Persons who can leave will find jobs elsewhere. Thus the weight of the status leaders of a community might be thrown towards respect for law and order, even though as individuals they may not approve of desegregation.

Some Lessons that Have Been Learned

In summarizing many situations where violence over desegregation had occurred, the following principles seemed to hold true:[17]

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[17] Adapted in part from Westfeldt, Wallace, "Communities in Strife," in Shoemaker, Don, (ed.), *With All Deliberate Speed,* N. Y., Harpers, 1957, pp 53-55.

1. Where individuals in a community are organized to resist desegregation, there is more likelihood of trouble.
2. The number of children involved, or the grade level, makes little difference, if organized segments of the community are determined to oppose desegregation at any cost.
3. There has been little bloodshed; no white person has been seriously injured though a number of Negroes report beatings and other acts of violence which may or may not be related to their position on desegregation.

Experience has shown that most communities have accepted the new situation. Of the 684 school districts that had desegregated by the Fall of 1957, only a *very few* had any violent action to report! These are statistics worth pondering. The headlines seem to indicate the opposite. But let us remember, and remember for a long time, that the American people by and large prefer orderly ways of doing things, and are dedicated to the moral belief in the rights of all individuals.

Yes, there may be some hot letters to the editor. There may be some unpleasant phone calls. There may be some agitated individuals who make public scenes. But by and large such disturbance dies down quickly if dealt with firmly. A school administrator who knows that there is a history of such individuals or groups in his community would do well to mobilize public opinion and the law-enforcement agencies to give full and unqualified support to the schools, with the firm statement that quick and decisive legal steps will be taken against any subversive actions.

IV PLANNING WITH AND FOR CHILDREN

The careful kind of planning that the administrator will undertake with the help of the school board, the faculty, the community, is for the ultimate betterment of the education of each child in the school. Reports of systems that have moved from a segregated to an integrated program have been marked, on the whole, by the fact that the expected trouble with young people did not materialize. There are a few exceptions. But across the country the more significant statement has been that the pupils adjusted easily, quietly and calmly to the new state of affairs.

The Elementary-School Child

For the elementary-school-age child, school is a series of adjustments to new social situations. He has many human relations problems to solve. The first day of school for most youngsters is a tremendous experience. And each succeeding year presents the growing child with new challenges for getting along with others. To enter an integrated school system from a previously separate or segregated situation thus becomes merely one of many human relations adjustments to make. It is to the credit of the essentially healthy personalities of our children that most of these adjustments are made with relative ease and poise.

It is probable that this kind of experience background accounts in part for the ease with which the transition can take place among elementary-school children. Children, however, do have prejudices and definite attitudes toward others. Research in a number of situations has pointed out that feelings about being different and recognition of differences in religion, race, and ethnic origin occur as young as kindergarten and first grade.[18]

Children recognize the differences in others, and they also recognize the ways in which they themselves differ. The child whose religion or race places him in a minority-group position is apt to feel insecure, anxious, and defensive. With some young children this manifests itself as a rejection of their own group, a feeling that to be what they are is somehow bad. Such children will need teacher reassurance. They will need to feel as accepted as any other child in the group. The child who does not like himself will find it hard to like others and will find it hard to learn lessons of citizenship or even the basic skills.

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[18] Trager, Helen G. and Yarrow, Marian R., *They Learn What They Live,* New York, Harper and Bros., 1952; Goodman, Mary Ellen, *Race Awareness in Young Children,* Cambridge, Addison-Wesley Press, 1952; Stendler, Celia Burns and Martin, Wm. E., *Intergroup Education in Kindergarten Primary Grades,* New York, Macmillan Co., 1953.

The Mexican-American child, the Negro child, or any other minority-group member may feel he is entering a *white* school system. This has been recognized by some school authorities where integration has been a recent policy by asking teachers to instruct the white majority group in "How we meet strangers." The feeling is that we are letting "them" into "our" schools. Psychologically this is the feeling that permeates both the minority and majority groups. The report from Stanton, California is illuminating:

> Jose and Juan and Pedro kept together, not daring to play with other children. Peter and Ralph were pushing the so-called intruders away from "their" play apparatus. After a few days the teachers were able to help the children accept and enjoy the new situation.
>
> "Let's do it together" has been the motto ever since the two schools have been one. The idea of "we" and "our school" instead of "me" and "my school" has been tried with great success. Instead of differences, likenesses have been emphasized. Everything was new. It was a new school. "We'll all begin together, and we'll work out things the best way we know how," was a statement made frequently. Because the teachers were accustomed to working together, the job was easier. At one of the first staff meetings, they recognized that difficulties might arise. Nevertheless these have been fewer than anyone anticipated.[19]

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[19] Miller, Elizabeth & Butterbaugh, W. W., "Building a Community School," *Calif. Journal of Elementary Education* 22: 81-87, Nov. 1953.

The minority-group child often will feel like a guest on trial; if he behaves well enough, he hopes that pretty soon he will be taken in as a regular member. The white child feels as though he is playing host to someone he is not always sure he freely invited to join his group.

These feelings are significant for the teacher in working with a newly mixed group. Each "side" feels tentative about the other and also not too certain of his own role. What can the teacher do?

How Children Feel

Preparation for desegregation can be made with informal and free talks with the children. The teacher will want to listen sympathetically to whatever the children have to express. Some of the children's feelings will be constructive, others may not. There will be a few aggressive children who see the new group as a potential adversary. There will be one or two fearful children who will want to escape the new situation. Expressing some of these feelings can often help to ease their impact; the aggressive child will not need to battle so much, and the fearful child may not need to flee so much. The teacher can give reassurance by indicating that he or she believes in the new policy, knows that the children will like it, and that whatever difficulties an individual may have the teacher will be there to help solve them.

The teacher can communicate her own feelings of calmness and faith in the program. The preparation that is made in June for a transition in September will need reinforcement when September arrives. Children will absorb some feelings and attitudes, but many will be sloughed off during summer months. Also parental attitudes may change in September from those transmitted to the child in June.

The First Day: Elementary School

When school starts in September careful opening-day plans are important. The first days can start off the school program toward a successful year or can establish attitudes that may interfere with an easy adjustment. The imaginative teacher will be ready with activities to smooth the first few days of strangeness. Two things seem essential in planning for these opening days:

1. The teacher will want to think of ways of helping youngsters meet each other in a relaxed and friendly fashion. Introduction games, group-planning activities, group sharing, simple active games that do not have any competitive elements, played outdoors for the whole group—these help overcome initial barriers.
2. Plan learning activities that give as many of the children as possible a feeling that (a) they can succeed in this classroom, and (b) learning is going to be enjoyable. Some teachers may show a movie the first day or so of class; others will have especially intriguing science displays, or read aloud to children interesting and exciting stories.

If the new situation seems to be threatening in any way to the children, then school authorities should avoid, during the first weeks of school, the added threat of achievement tests, spelling matches, choosing teams, oral recitations and memorizing, and speed and time tests of all sorts. These kinds of situations have the elements of public failure or public rejection, and can emphasize the lacks of some and the differences among groups.

By using techniques for encouraging youngsters to get acquainted the teacher may prevent the group-against-group competition which, at older age levels, can lead to tension and conflict. Youngsters, however, need their friends. The close proximity of a friend, even a silent one, provides support. For this reason alphabetical seating of children which disrupts friendship pairs may add to the burden of individual anxiety. Instead, after the youngsters have found seats in the room according to their own choosing, some simple group games will help overcome shyness and introduce new friends, while also permitting those who need their old friends a chance to stay near them. Actually, what we are saying here is that the techniques a teacher now uses for getting acquainted with a new class and making the new group feel at home and relaxed will work in an integrated situation just as well and effectively as in any other situation. The tried and true methods that good teachers have always used are their most valuable resource.

Oral speaking situations can be hard on some youngsters. With Spanish-speaking children there is often the recurrent fear of forgetting the proper English word or mispronouncing it, or making mistakes in grammar. All of these are likely to evoke the laughter or scorn of some members of the group—either of which is a horrible experience. Most children, except the natural show-offs, have a small feeling of panic when asked to address a roomful of their classmates. During the first weeks of acquaintanceship oral recitation should probably be all volunteer, so that those too worried to recite freely can see from the example of others that it is not so bad after all. By using a variety of group techniques to plan class activities, to do the housekeeping tasks of the classroom, to prepare bulletin boards and to do research and problem-solving, the teacher will contribute most to the growing feeling of being at home in a new situation.[20]

Some Curriculum and Teaching Problems: Elementary Level

Within the classroom teachers will find that youngsters will differ not only in terms of their own group experience, but in terms of individual achievement. It may be found, where the Negro group has been disadvantaged economically and educationally for many generations, that some of the school children will be one or two grades below achievement level.

The question may be raised: Why not place youngsters in the class indicated by achievement-test results? The problem here will occur where many of the children are below a given grade level for their chronological age, and this whole group will be older than the others with whom they are placed. In a group of sixth graders some will be found who are achieving at fourth or fifth-grade level, but if placed in these grades would be one or two or three years older than the other children. On the other hand, if low achievers are placed in their chronologically-correct grade level, then perhaps the whole group will be labeled "dumb" or "stupid" with unfortunate results.

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[20] Grambs, Jean D., *Group Processes in Intergroup Education*, New York, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

What are some ways of solving this problem? First, of course, each child should be individually considered. Whenever possible, children should be placed at their chronological grade levels. Some who appear to be at a low level of achievement may be reflecting merely an impoverished school program and will reach or excel the achievement of their classmates as soon as they are given a chance. It has been found to be impossible to achieve homogeneous grouping on the basis of achievement or IQ. The variables are too great, for one thing. As teachers already know so well, preparation for a new class means providing a wide range of learning materials. Through this means each child can find something at his own level. It will not be at all surprising to find that many previous differences will disappear in a short time.

Two major cities, Washington, D. C., and St. Louis, have been developing methods of sectioning youngsters into three or four achievement levels. Observers report that such a procedure has helped in providing remedial work for the lowest achieving groups, and accelerated programs for the fast learners. The pros and cons of this approach to variations in achievement are debated continually in the educational literature. It will require a careful study in one's own community to determine what is best.

The facts of the matter, however, cannot be denied. Many Negro children, Mexican-American children, Puerto Rican children, all come to schools with social and educational handicaps. In every group there are bright, able, alert youngsters who have had a good educational background. But the larger majority of such children have not had good educations. The bitter lesson of desegregation has been that segregated schooling, while separate, was not equal. Negro children have had poorer schools, a shorter school year, fewer materials, teachers who were themselves products of completely segregated educations.

Where a few children are moved from segregated to desegregated environments the problem is far from pressing. We have, in every classroom, wide ranges of ability and achievement. Therefore desegregation will pose no startlingly new educational problem. It is only when numbers increase that a school system may need to establish special remedial procedures for *all* children in some subject areas.

Any stereotype the teacher has of his pupils must give way to the facts. As one Negro teacher put it, "It is going to be hard for me to remember that some of my white pupils might be slow!" Similarly, a white teacher might have to readjust a stereotype that made it inconceivable that a Negro child or a Mexican child could be as brilliant as many of them are.

Discipline in the classroom is a bugaboo for many teachers. In an integrated situation, particularly during the first few months or years, some teachers will find new problems.

It is important for teachers to be careful to keep from thinking every classroom disturbance is a product of integration. In fact, experience indicates that there are likely to be neither more nor fewer teaching problems. The naughty and the well-adjusted will turn up in their usual proportions in the classroom. In only a very few instances —according to experience in many communities—will the factor of integration be itself the cause of classroom behavior problems.

Where child hostility lies behind discipline problems, there is obviously a need for re-education. Many teachers are now familiar with techniques for human relations education. These techniques essentially help the youngster understand his own feelings and motivations, and thus help him to accept and get along with others. The use of such techniques as dramatic play, role-playing, informal group discussion, problem-centered literature, are all ways of helping young people to gain insight so that prejudice, hatred, and fear of others are no longer necessary. Where a crisis develops, the teacher of course will have to move quickly and decisively. It is important to make it clear that "we are all equals here" and "we will not tolerate prejudiced or hate-producing statements or comments about others." This approach should later be followed by discussions of why we feel as we do, but there must be an initial statement that we all live in the United States, all are future citizens, and each person has an equal right to the respect and consideration of his peers.

There may be some discipline cases that result from the teacher's own personal reactions. It has been noted that it is hard for some bright teachers to understand or sympathize with dull children. In the same way, we get along best and understand best those who are most like us in background, motivations, experience. Knowing this, the teacher must educate himself rigorously in trying to see how it feels and how it *is* to be someone else with vastly different background, outlook on life, and personal history. It was reported for instance that two teachers, one Negro and one white, teaching in an integrated situation, evoked quite different reactions from the same group. Both teachers were competent and experienced. The Negro teacher found it extremely difficult to control some of the Negro boys in her class; the white teacher, on the other hand, found them easy to manage, and the explanation seemed to lie in the fact that the Negro teacher felt insecure and tentative about expecting these boys to respect her authority, while the white teacher did not.

Teacher attitudes are sensitively caught by almost all children. What the teacher does and is will have far more impact than what the teacher says or hopes.

The Adolescent and Integration

In many instances where schools have moved from segregation to desegregation it has been noted that the elementary-school child accepts the new situation quickly and easily. Reports from the high-school level indicate that the new situation has also been quickly and quietly accepted. There have been more threats of trouble than actual trouble.

Let us remember the situation of the adolescent. In this period of his growth he is facing many new situations. He must understand a new physical situation as he passes through puberty. Relations with his parents are changing, the world is a rapidly expanding one; he finds himself able and wanting to do many things that he is forbidden to do. The conflict in the adult world between moral and ethical beliefs, and actual behavior in business, politics and personal life becomes very real to the adolescent.

Thus the adolescent faces many new situations which are both tempting and threatening. How does one act in a new situation? Not knowing exactly what is the approved thing to do—the thing one can do and live with oneself—a person may act in several different ways depending on his own personality. Some people in a new situation brazen it out, act with a bravado and assurance that they do not really feel. Others become aggressive, hitting out at the unknown before the unknown can hit first. Still other individuals retreat in shyness and confusion, watching and waiting until they can know more surely how to think and feel and act.

So adolescents demonstrate a variety of reactions to the new process of becoming young adults in a world of conflicting pressures and potentials. Adolescents for this reason are tremendously stimulating to teach, occasionally exasperating and often unnerving.

School for many adolescents is a place of security and reassurance where the known routines and ways of doing things help in the transition toward adulthood. For other adolescents school is the most boring place on earth; the real life they lead goes on either inside their heads or outside of school in the streets and hangouts of their playmates. Some adolescents find school terrifying, never knowing when an inadequacy of skill and ability will be revealed in a public situation. And the adolescent is acutely self-conscious, feeling peculiarly conspicuous in the new untried physique of the mature person.

During the years of adolescence the individual goes through a basic readjustment of his feelings toward his parents, and his relationship to them. The conflict between parent and adolescent is often very profound and very disturbing. Parents worry excessively about their adolescents, hoping that they will be able to make wise decisions in these crucial years—decisions about friends and marriage, about jobs, about future education. This anxiety on the part of parents is not always well-received by the adolescent. He wants to be master of himself. He tries out the techniques of revolt.

It is here that changes in school policy may all-unwittingly provide an opportunity for overt expression of the disturbances, the needs, the restlessness of the adolescent.

The analysis by Tipton of the student reaction to integration in "Central City," a midwest community where three years of student unrest and strikes and strike threats were the result, shows the role of the adolescent personality as crucial in what occurred: In this city, one high school was already integrated and the school authorities were moving toward integration at the elementary level as well as in the other high schools. Following a football game, stories spread that there had been a fight between some Negro and white boys in the opposing teams:

> "The incidents of the game and afterward worked on these boys' emotions and stimulated them to wish for something more interesting than just another day at school, followed by tomorrow and tomorrow and a seemingly never-ending series of just as dull tomorrows. It was a time of more than ordinary restlessness

> anyway for boys like these. The war had suddenly ended with the dropping of the two atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These particular boys had probably been simultaneously frightened and attracted by the war. They had looked forward with a mixture of anxiety and eagerness, therefore, to the prospect of being drafted within a few months. Some of them spoke of volunteering, although they never did so. They probably saw the draft as a way of escaping the monotony of school life and the frustration of home life in Central City's Bartow District. Now the illusion of ultimate escape, without themselves having to gather the courage necessary to get away on their own initiative, was suddenly taken away from them, and they faced too abruptly the prospect of having to go on living with their boredom and their maladjustments at home and at school.[21]

A school strike resulted from the conditions described above. The strike capitalized upon the general feelings of hostility toward school authorities which, in this instance, had resulted from an accumulation of minor irritations and dissatisfactions on the part of the student body. Besides, as Tipton points out:

> "The weather was warm and beautiful, and it was far more fun to be striking than going to school. It made no difference . . . that student leaders were not good students or that some of them were hard to get along with . . . They were innovators, originators of a wonderful scheme."[22]

We have dealt at some length on this description of a transition that was painful and difficult, though finally successfully achieved, because it points out most clearly the factor of adolescence as a developmental stage to be clearly understood and considered when desegregation takes place.

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[21] Tipton, James H., *Community in Crisis*, Teachers College Studies in Education, Columbia University Press, 1953, pp 65-66.

[22] Tipton, *op. cit.*, pp 75.

A Positive Approach

The factors that might make for trouble with adolescence are also those factors that, if directed along positive channels, will also make for constructive and inspiring activities. For adolescents are idealists and dreamers. Adolescence is a time of hope and energy. It is a time when rights are never so *right*, and wrongs are never so wrong.

Prior to desegregation, teachers will want to find places in the curriculum where adolescents can begin to learn about themselves and other people. Inadequate human relations are a fertile field for overt conflict and disturbance. We can start with the adolescent as a family member, and help him gain insight into his feelings about his parents. We can look at the growth processes of adolescence, and reassure these young people that there are many growth patterns. The ethical and moral framework of our society can be examined, helping young people to appreciate human fallibility while not condoning human failure to live up to our highest beliefs. Finally, we can study the cosmopolitan population of our country, and come to appreciate the fact that the richness of our genius is a product of the many cultures that have been represented among our people. The ideal of democratic citizenship that each of us can and must practice in everyday life must be the continued theme of all of our educational efforts, but particularly when we are looking forward to basic change in school arrangements.[23]

Other techniques can be helpful. Students from the different schools can be encouraged to work together on problems common to them all. There can be inter-school forums, exchange of dramatic programs, choral and orchestral programs on an exchange basis, play-days where *competition* is kept to a minimum but where everyone can enjoy athletic activities and fun. Such activities will go a long way toward helping all groups see each other as adolescents primarily, sharing similar problems of all youth today.

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[23] Taba, Hilda and others. *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations* for *Secondary Schools*, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1949.

Ways of Working with Adolescents

It is probable, on the basis of experience in many communities, that most high schools and junior highs will move into integration with a minimum of student reaction. This will be particularly true where teachers have deliberately fostered attitudes of understanding and inculcated the spirit of democratic citizenship. Also, where the school and community authorities are firm and decisive, young people will follow with respect.

Several clues, however, may be noted that, if not heeded, might precipitate trouble. Where a neighborhood or community has youthful gangs, well organized and beyond the reach of law or adult authority, one might expect unrest. Such gangs will find the slogans and actions of prejudice useful. These gangs arise because of lacks in the community and in the adjustment of the individual adolescent. The youngsters are seeking excitement and a way out of the personal and social dilemmas that they lack the skill or resources to solve. Thus they may take irresponsible advantage of a situation that has the spark of conflict and fan it into a flame.

Prior to integration, the school authorities in such communities would want to talk to welfare workers, juvenile authorities and the police, who usually have a pretty good idea what gangs there are, who is in them, and what they are capable of doing. These youngsters should be immunized before they have a chance to act. Gangs may be used constructively in interesting recreational projects. Jobs should be found for those who need them. Others may have their school programs carefully tailored so there is a minimum of failure and a maximum of opportunity to have good adult guidance and learn a useful skill. These of course are things educators try to do at all times. However, where times become tense or crucial, efforts must be redoubled.

The key student leaders of gangs, especially, must be identified. Giving them status in school activities from which they are, as gang members, typically excluded, will often help. Team membership if they have the athletic skill is extremely valuable.

During the first day and week of school, after desegregation has taken place, school authorities should be alert to see that all young people are actively engaged in school affairs. Opening-day exercises should stress the important new step forward in democratic practices that has been made, the belief that the school will have one of its best years ever, and the fact that the authorities will handle firmly any disruptive or undemocratic behavior on the part of anyone. In individual classes teachers will find it helpful to start the school year with the most interesting and stimulating activities they can think of. Competition, fear of loss of status, fear of failure, which can be turned only too quickly into aggressive reactions, should be allayed by continual teacher assurance that "in this class we will have fun learning important things that each of you *will* be able to learn." Learning the names of students quickly is always important as an indicator to the adolescent that he, too, is a real human being in this class.

It is probable that elections of any sort should be avoided at first. Student government is a very valuable technique for helping young people to help themselves. But each group may fear that the other will seek to dominate the student body, and unpleasant and irritating situations may develop. When elections are to be held, it would be important to have an all-school educational campaign regarding the importance of *choosing leadership because it is adequate for the job to be done.*

Achieving Equality

School systems that have grown up with the tradition of integration have only the usual run-of-the-mill adolescent problems in adjustment to deal with. Other schools, that have not had such a tradition, may find it surprisingly easy to move directly and completely into equal treatment for all.

There are some problems, however, that are more difficult to solve. For instance, the American Association of

School Administrators reported in a bulletin on intergroup education:

> Within individual schools there may be rules and practices which deprive students of full school citizenship. Often these discriminations have become traditional and have some basis in administrative expediency. Some schools do not allow minority-group students to use swimming pools or, if they do, these students must have the pools at different hours or on different days than those assigned to students in the majority group. Minority-group students are sometimes required to sit in certain parts of classrooms or certain sections of auditoriums, to use separate divisions of the playground, or to have locker assignments separate from the lockers assigned to the majority group.
>
> In some school systems minority-group students are not allowed to attend school social affairs, or to take part in dramatics, orchestras and choruses, or to play on the athletic teams. Sometimes student government and student organizations, theoretically designed to build good citizenship, are not open to all students.[24]

Although the report quoted above was made in 1947, reports today indicate that such practices are still to be found. It is hard to find any justification for such procedures. They are not only undemocratic but morally wrong.

In the "Central City" situation reported by Tipton, it was found that although Negroes made up 30% of the enrollment of the integrated school, and were permitted to take part in major athletic team activities, they could swim and sing in school only on a segregated basis. Negro students were not admitted to dramatic classes, band or orchestra. They were not allowed to participate in school social functions, but had to organize their own social club to sponsor their own activities. Likewise, they could not participate in school government except through representatives chosen from their social club, so that when school elections were held in class the Negro students could not participate or vote. The only Negro teacher in the school was assigned to a class of "incorrigible" Negro boys.[25]

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[24] Commission on Intergroup Education, ***From Sea to Shining Sea,*** Washington, D.C., American Association of School Administrators, 1947, pp 24-25.

These practices negate the basic reason for desegregation. They make it difficult if not impossible for any student to have full faith in the democratic citizenship that he is being told about. These are practices that alert faculty personnel must avoid, since the educational task is made difficult if not impossible in such a setting. These policies are not necessary. They certainly are not to be found in thousands of schools across the country with student bodies that include all races and groups. Community acceptance can include the full gamut of expected equal treatment where school officials, as a matter of course, continue with the usual school activities that were undertaken when the school was segregated.

A Final Word

The brief pages of this pamphlet can only suggest the many things that a school and community can do to work together to make an orderly transition from a segregated to a desegregated and eventually an integrated situation. So many school systems have already accomplished this task successfully that we know it can be done, and done well. In the districts where much remains to be done, where no change has as yet occurred, the going may not be easy. Yet, with good will, a determination to be reasonable and democratic, in time segregation will be only of historical interest!

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[25] Tipton, *op cit.* pp 28-29.

PART III

PARTIAL LISTING OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OFFERING SERVICES

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.	*Adult Leadership* and *Adult Education* magazines, field consultation and services, research reports, conferences.	Malcolm S. Knowles, Administrative-Coordinator, 743 No. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.
American Camping Association, Inc.	A resource agency to aid camp directors on intercultural problems. Speakers for conventions. Magazine articles.	Hugh W. Ransom, Executive Director, American Camping Association, Bradford Woods, Martinsville, Indiana.
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.	Seminars for public-school teachers on the role of the teacher in an integrated school system, human relations seminars for members of public and private Boards, consultation with officials and community leaders, aid to local groups in program planning, and serving as information center.	Community Relations Program, American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
American Jewish Committee	Literature; counseling in regard to specific situations.	Community Relations Service, American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
American Jewish Congress	Legal services, social research and community relations.	Isaac Toubin, Executive Director, American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th St., New York 28, N. Y.
American Nurses' Association	Promotes inclusion and participation of minority groups in Association activities. Works for elimination of discrimination in job opportunities, salaries and other working conditions.	Miss Ella Best, Executive Secretary, American Nurses' Assn., 2 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	Consultants, resource persons, speakers, discussion leaders. Workshops, conferences, in-service training programs for teachers. Printed and audio-visual materials.	Oscar Cohen, Director, Program Division, A.D.L., 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc.	Research material on Negro life and history.	Charles H. Wesley, President, 1538 9th St., N. W., Washington, D.C.
Boy Scouts of America	The scouting program for all boys through institutional sponsorship.	Elmer Bakken, Director, Division of Relationships, Boy Scouts of America, National Council, New Brunswick, N. J.
Catholic Committee of the South	A suggested policy and procedure for integration in Catholic Schools. Printed materials.	Very Rev. Maurice Shean, c/o The Oratory, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
Catholic Interracial Council of N. Y.	Consultation in race relations in the Catholic area. Books, periodicals, reports, clippings, photographs, recordings, research index. Race relations forum.	George K. Hunton, Executive Secretary, Catholic Interracial Council of N. Y., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
AFL-CIO (Civil Rights Committee)	Pamphlets, films, and in some instances consultative services.	Boris Shishkin, Director, Civil Rights Committee, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
Girl Scouts of the United States of America	Books, pamphlets, magazine articles, films, speakers on intergroup relations.	Mrs. Alice C. Carney, Director of Community Relations, 830 Third Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Maintains a skilled field staff all over the nation. In addition, several educational specialists are employed to give guidance to communities making change-over from segregation to integration. Speakers also available.	Henry Lee Moon, Director of Public Relations, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials	Works through committees, commissions and departments. Holds regional, national and special purpose conferences. Engages in research. Has information regarding resources and activities of intergroup agencies.	John Lassoe, Jr., Executive Secretary, 152 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y.

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
National Catholic Welfare Conference	Coordinating program for parochial and private schools; consultation services and establishment of contacts with appropriate diocesan authorities.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, Director, Dept. of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D.C.
National Community Relations Advisory Council	Devoted exclusively to interconsultation among constituent autonomous agencies for exchange of information and views, joint program planning and coordination of work.	Isaiah M. Minkoff, Executive Director, 9 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
National Conference of Christians and Jews	Materials and program aids to help build better intergroup relations. Consultative services from national and regional offices.	Miss Lillian Cohen, Assoc. Director, Field and Program Service, 43 W. 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.
National Council of Churches (Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations)	Prepares and distributes literature, newsletters and Interracial News Service. Research and study. Educational projects. Consultative field services.	Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
National Council of Jewish Women	Materials and programs to help establish patterns of public opinion favorable to acceptance and implementation of Supreme Court decision on segregation.	Mrs. Francis T. Cahn, Executive Director, National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West 47th St., New York 36, N. Y.

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
National Council of Negro Women	Conferences, workshops and printed materials on the Supreme Court decision on segregation and its implementation.	Miss Dorothy Height, Nat'l. President, NCNW, 1318 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.
National Council of Women of the U. S.		Human Relations Committee, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N. Y.
National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s	Consultation on the development of interracial policies and services in membership organizations.	Leo B. Marsh, Secretary for Counseling and Interracial Services, 291 B'way, New York 7, N. Y.
National Education Association	Pamphlets, magazine articles, and audio-visual materials. Consultative services.	William G. Carr, Executive Secretary, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
National Jewish Welfare Board	Consultative services, publications and program materials, National and regional conferences and field visitation.	S. D. Gershovitz, Executive Vice President, 145 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.
National Social Welfare Assembly	Information regarding the intergroup and interracial practices and programs of more than sixty national organizations affiliated with the Assembly.	Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
National Urban League	Consultation services on matters dealing with racial relations, particularly in areas of Industrial Relations, Vocational Services, Housing, Public Education, Research, and Community Relations.	Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League, 14 E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y.

Name of Organization	*Services Offered*	*Person to Contact and Address*
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	**Guidance and informational materials; consultative services to community groups on public and private aspects of intergroup relations.**	**Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Director, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.**
Y.W.C.A.	**Pamphlets, magazine articles, bulletins, in the intergroup field.**	**Publication Services, Y.W.C.A. of USA, 600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N.Y.**

In addition many denominational organizations maintain special committees, commissions or councils that produce literature, provide program material and consultative services to church and other community groups interested in studying and solving human relations problems. The following have indicated that they have services available:

United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Council of Liberal Churches
(Universalist-Unitarian), Inc.
16 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Disciples of Christ
Department of Social Welfare
222 S. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Protestant Episcopal Church
Department of Christian Social Relations
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod
Board of Parish Education
210 North Broadway
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Methodist Church
Board of Social and Economic Relations
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Department of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 8, Ga.

There are a number of state and local public agencies, not listed above, which have services and material available. For further information about these agencies, see: *Directory, Public Relations Agencies*, 1957. New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1957.

PART IV

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

43 West 57th Street **New York 19, N. Y.**

According to its By-Laws, "the National Conference exists to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships."

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